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TO THE PEOPLE,  
OF BOTH RACES,  
WHOM I MET ON THE RESERVATIONS,  
THIS LITTLE BOOK IS INSCRIBED  
WITH  
SINCERE INTEREST AND GOOD-WILL.

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THE

LATEST STUDIES

ON

INDIAN RESERVATIONS

BY  
*Jonathan Barber*  
J. B. HARRISON,

AUTHOR OF "CERTAIN DANGEROUS TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN LIFE,"  
"NOTES ON INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS," ETC.

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## THE LATEST STUDIES ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

DURING the month of May, 1886, as a representative of the Indian Rights Association, I visited and examined the schools for the training of Indian youth of both sexes, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and at Hampton, Virginia. At Washington I obtained letters from the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs to all Indian Agents, and from the Honorable Secretary of War to commanders of forts and military posts in the Indian country, directing them to give me any assistance consistent with their official duties.

Thus prepared and equipped, I set out to examine, observe and report as fully as possible everything connected with the condition and character of the schools, farming, home-life, and missionary work, and the general and special relations of the Indians to civilization and their progress therein, on several of the principal Indian Reservations. I wished, also, to observe

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and report regarding the character, methods and efficiency of the administration of affairs on the reservations, and especially to examine carefully the quality of Indian land everywhere, and its adaptation, in the case of each particular reservation, to sustain a considerable self-supporting Indian agricultural population.

Beginning about the first of June, I visited and examined the following reservations, in the order given: Rosebud and Pine Ridge, in Southern Dakota; Omaha, Winnebago and Santee, in Nebraska; Yankton, Lower Brulé, Crow Creek, Cheyenne River and Standing Rock, in Dakota; the Crow Reservation, in Montana; Yakima, and Nisqually and Skokomish, in Washington Territory, and the Klamath Reservation, in Southern Oregon, closing my work in the latter region at the end of October. I was thus employed for six months, without pause or interruption, in the travels and observations here recorded.

Before leaving New England I had been engaged by the *Boston Herald* as a special correspondent, and I wrote many letters while travelling which were published in that journal. Much of the matter of those letters is reproduced here, by special permission of the editor of the *Herald*. As the range of my observations extended from Omaha in Nebraska, through Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington Territory and Oregon to the

Pacific Coast, I was able to make a comparative study of the condition and needs of the Indians in widely separated and different regions. I received the greatest courtesy, kindness and assistance from all officers of the Government, from officers of the army, missionaries, teachers, journalists, business men and leading citizens everywhere, and was highly fortunate in opportunities for observation and investigation, and in all the conditions and course of circumstances vitally affecting my work.

The first part of the book consists of descriptive notes on the various reservations visited. The second part is made up of opinions and reflections suggested to my mind by what I had observed.

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## PART FIRST.

### NOTES ON THE RESERVATIONS.

#### ROSEBUD, DAKOTA.

Rosebud Agency is about eight hundred miles west from Chicago. I visited this reservation early in June. Hon. James G. Wright, of Illinois, was then the agent, but his term expired soon afterward, and he was not reappointed. He had about seven thousand Sioux Indians under his charge. When he was appointed four years before, he found his people huddled closely around the agency, wholly dependent upon the rations issued by the Government for their subsistence. They had settled themselves in places where wood and water could be easily obtained, but where there was no soil, nor any possibility of agriculture. In the spring of 1883, Mr. Wright began operations under his plan of scattering the Indians as widely as possible over the reservation. Without any resort to force or threats of it, by the use of influences and resources natural to a real leader of men, he steadily pursued this object, and was at last completely successful.

#### INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

During the first afternoon after my arrival at the agency I walked all about the neighborhood, and saw fewer Indians than I have sometimes seen at a Massachusetts railway station when a group of students from Lincoln, or Carlisle, or Hampton, came along on their way to the New England country towns for their summer vacation. The Rosebud Indians are living in thirty scattered camps or separate neighborhoods, in different directions from the agency, and at distances varying from twelve to one hundred and thirty miles. Some of the camps are twenty, twenty-five, thirty-five, fifty and seventy miles away.

Four years ago there were only about twenty-five acres of land cultivated. At the time of my visit there were more than four thousand acres under cultivation by Indians connected with this agency. I visited more than one hundred of their farms, and saw corn, oats, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, melons, onions and all kind of roots and vegetables suited to the latitude and climate. The country is rather high and cold for corn, but it sometimes ripens, and much of it is used green. Each Indian's plough land is a long narrow strip, when circumstances permit, for convenience in ploughing, and is surrounded by a good fence of barbed wire built by the Indians themselves. In travelling about the reservation it was a common thing to see a man and his wife constructing a

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fence. The woman strained the wire to its place with a pole, and the man fastened it with staples to each post. The agent issued seeds, ploughs, wagons and all necessary farming utensils, fencing-wire, etc., to those who would work, but "the tools to those who will use them," was the rule, and help was given only to those who showed a disposition to help themselves. Many Indians are always eager to obtain as much as possible of everything, and they often clamor for utensils which they have no intention of using. They want whatever they have seen issued to other Indians, and would take half a dozen ploughs or wagons apiece if they could get them, though they lived on bare rocks or desert sand. But I observed that Mr. Wright gave them wire for a fence only after they had set up all the posts, and that it was his unvarying policy to require the co-operation of the Indians themselves in all that was done by him for their benefit. He had devised a system of records by which the entire industrial or economic history of each Indian who is at work in improving or civilizing ways is tabulated and preserved so as to be seen at a glance. This system is so convenient and valuable, and so much of an advance upon methods previously used, that the Government has adopted it, and now prints a blank record book of this kind for all Indian agencies. I found the Rosebud volume very interesting reading. For

instance, Iron Wing, of the North Band on Big White River, had a house, 16 by 20 feet, and two windows were issued to him in 1883; a door with locks and hinges, a heating stove and a yoke of oxen in 1884; crockery in 1883 and 1885, and a wagon and harness, a cow and a lamp in 1885. This is a real history of a developing life and character. Mr. Talk had nothing at all, as is often the case among white people. Some of the entries are almost too quaint and personal for publication. Quick Bear's camp, thirty miles from the agency, had forty-seven houses and farms. The day of tents and tepees, except for forlorn old women, who have no men to build houses for them, is passing away on this part of the great Sioux Reservation. Hundreds of well-built, warm and comfortable log houses are taking their places. A great many Indian families have sewing machines. The Government employs farmers to instruct these Indians in agriculture.

Four years before the time of my visit there was not a school-house or a school in the territory belonging to Rosebud Agency, and the former agent advised Mr. Wright not to undertake any work for the education of the Indians, as it would involve him in trouble without end, and could produce no valuable results. But I found seventeen school-houses, eleven of them built by the Government, and there were thirteen Government





schools going on in a wholesome and business-like manner, and several mission schools. There has been much talk, in Congress and elsewhere, about the irregular and inefficient attendance of the pupils of the reservation schools. But last year the average daily attendance was twenty-five pupils per school for the whole number of schools on this reservation, for the entire school year. The school at the agency was an excellent one. It was taught by Miss Wright, a daughter of the agent, who possesses unusual qualifications for teaching of the kind required in the Indian country. She should have permanent charge of a much larger and more important school. I was much interested at Rosebud by the work of a young teacher who knew no Dakota, but who, not waiting for a better opportunity, went at once to an Indian camp where no one knew a word of English. It must have been appallingly difficult, but she had taught sewing, English-speaking and reading, and habits of order, neatness and punctuality, and after a little less than a year's work the improvement, not only of the children but also of their parents and friends, was in many ways plainly manifest. In this case, as in that of Miss Wright and her work, I observed that the most vital element involved was the personal ascendancy of the teacher.

One of the most important objects in Indian education, and one of the most difficult things to

accomplish, is the formation of a taste for neatness and cleanliness. The Rosebud Indians live in a dry country, and have become able to live for a long time with very little water. Under similar conditions white people would probably not wash their faces very often. The Indians sleep and sit on the ground while uncivilized, and putting floors into their houses is a most important step in their advance in the arts of civilized life. The women can use a broom, can mop and scrub, and "clean things up" if they have a floor of boards in the house, but none of these things are possible on a dirt floor.

On an Indian reservation nearly everything depends upon the character, wisdom and efficiency of the agent. Mr. Wright's administration at Rosebud was, for four years, conspicuously efficient and successful. All his accounts were in perfect condition at the expiration of his term, and all the affairs of the reservation were in a wholesome and satisfactory state. His departure from the Indian service is, in every way, a great loss, and if only the interests of the service had been consulted he would undoubtedly have been reappointed. Why was he not reappointed? No new man can possibly govern the reservation equally well until he has had years of experience. Every such change involves a great waste of energy and of time, besides being injurious to the Indians in

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various ways. If they have been making any real progress in civilization, it always in such cases suffers a serious and discouraging interruption. In all Mr. Wright's work he was ably seconded by a competent and faithful chief clerk. Without this support even his rare powers would have been to a great degree ineffective and his administration unsuccessful. The clerk is, I believe, also out of the service.

PINE RIDGE, DAKOTA.

I travelled more than two hundred miles by wagon in the south-western part of the great Sioux Reservation, going across the plains from Rosebud to Pine Ridge, and camping out at night. I visited most of the farming regions of both the reserves, closely studying the soil, crops and general and special capabilities of the country for agriculture. In the earlier stages of his experience, Dr. McGillicuddy, for seven years the efficient and successful Indian agent at Pine Ridge, had little faith in the capacity of the soil of the region. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated September 1st, 1881, he said that any attempt to make these people self-supporting, even to a limited degree, as farmers, must necessarily be a waste of time, labor and money, on account of the lack of sufficient rainfall at the proper season of the year, and by reason of the

hot, scorching winds of the summer months. He also pointed out the fact that the whites had already taken from the Sioux about all their arable land, and that when the Indians surrendered the Black Hills and the Big Horn region they gave up the garden spots of their country. He believed that if an equal number of white men had these lands, with all needed implements, seed and a year's provisions, they would die of starvation if they had to depend upon their crops for subsistence. In 1876 Hon. J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, pronounced the Sioux reserve utterly unsuited to the cultivation of the soil, and the report of the Sioux Commission of that year says: "The country now occupied by the Sioux Indians does not contain lands on which they can ever expect to become self-supporting." In 1881 the agent at Rosebud reported to the Government that the almost universal barrenness of the soil afforded little hope of the Indians becoming self-supporting at an early date. Only four years ago Dr. McGillicuddy wrote: "I never have regarded, and do not now regard, this as a practical agricultural region for Indians;" but his reports for 1884 and 1885 are more hopeful in their treatment of this subject. It is evident that in all that region, the earlier unfavorable estimates of the agricultural capabilities of the Indian country have been considerably modified. The tendency now

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is toward extremely sanguine judgments and expectations. The white people say that the rainfall has increased to a surprising extent, and they are confident that during the next few years it will increase in still greater proportions. If there is really so much more now, the amount of rain a few years ago must have been next to nothing. The theory of the white settlers is that the rainfall is increased by the occupancy and cultivation of the country. When a granger puts up a sod house over in Nebraska, and ploughs an acre of ground for potatoes, he believes that he has added something to the annual rainfall of the region. Last June I wrote: "The cause assigned for so great an effect seems insufficient to produce it. It is probable that the increase of rain is in great degree accidental; that it will not be permanent, and that all this region may again suffer from drought, so severe as to cause an almost complete failure of crops of all kinds." I believe that the season then opening has since verified this opinion almost as fully as one summer's experience could verify it, the drought having caused, as I am told, "an almost complete failure of crops of all kinds."

If the grass should be destroyed over extensive surfaces by cultivation, the desiccation of the country is likely to become more extreme. It may be shown in time that the earlier estimates of the

soil and country were nearer the truth than the much more encouraging views of recent times. The grounds for the later notion, that the land is highly valuable, are, I think, almost entirely subjective. All Indian land is constantly improving in quality in the estimation of white men who want the reservations opened, but I have seen very few who knew much about it, in fact, or had ever taken the trouble to examine any of it carefully. The proportion of arable land to the whole extent of these two reservations (Rosebud and Pine Ridge) is very small, not more, I think, than one-eighth of the whole. That is, seven-eighths of the entire territory of these two reserves is land that does not admit of tillage. Upon the most generous estimate, there is probably not more arable land on these two reserves than would be required to give fifty acres to each Indian of the present population. The remainder is fit only for pasturage, and much of it is as barren and useless as the central desolation of Sahara. The farming land in the Indian country of this part of Dakota is nearly all situated along the creeks and small rivers which cross the high, rolling plains at long distances from each other. The soil of the narrow valleys is re-enforced by the wash of the adjacent higher land (when this is not so strong in alkali or "gumbo" as to destroy vegetation entirely); and in some places, as along Little Oak

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and Cut Meat creeks near Rosebud Agency, and on the Wounded Knee, Medicine Root, and other streams between Rosebud and Pine Ridge, the young corn and potatoes were looking well when I saw them. The best farmers there say the country needs a good shower every night while the crops are growing. Experiments show that, with an unlimited supply of water, labor and manure the soil along the creeks will produce fairly good crops of various vegetables and garden products. But none of the land, not even the best of it, would be called good land in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois or Kentucky. The ground requires stirring within a few hours after every rain. It runs together when wet into a kind of paste, with a consistency like that of wax or cement, and if it is not stirred at the right time it hardens quickly, forming a surface which is nearly as impervious to air as slate or glass would be; and the soil, to a considerable depth, is soon baked like a brick. If this hardened plaster is allowed to remain around peas, beans and other growing plants, the stalks are soon cut off, whenever the wind blows, by being rubbed against the sharp edges of the crust. The land requires so much stirring to keep it loose enough for crops to grow that one laborer can cultivate adequately but a very small area. It needs manuring every year, as it washes badly, and does not retain fertilizing materials. All the

region lies very high, and the seasons are too short and cold for corn to ripen regularly, but it is grown for fodder, and for table use while green. The Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations are, throughout, much better adapted to grazing than to agriculture, and the success of any effort to bring these Indians to a self-supporting condition will depend upon the recognition of this fact, and upon the adaptation of the industries of the people to the unchangeable conditions of the soil and climate of the country.

According to the latest reports there are about 5,080 Indians on the Pine Ridge reserve. When I was there the number on the official rolls was much greater, as it had been for many years, but everybody at the agency, and in all that region, was aware that the official estimate, made long before, was greatly in excess of the actual number. This over-estimate was a legacy from a state of things in which an accurate census of the Indians was out of the question, and it had not been produced or perpetuated by the intention or connivance of anybody connected with the local administration of affairs on the reserve. The former agent, Dr. McGillicuddy, had just left the reservation when I was at Pine Ridge, and I did not see him, but the people of the country were unanimous in praise of his effective, intelligent and just administration. But some months after-



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ward, in Montana and Washington Territory, I began to hear from the East all kinds of rumors about Dr. McGillicuddy's accounts being wrong, and of his having made vast sums of money out of rations which the Indians were not numerous enough to use. As there is no way in which an agent could possibly appropriate Indian rations to his own use beyond the number that he could pick up and eat, the real improprieties in the administration of the former agent at Pine Ridge must have been of a different character. One hears in the Indian country all kinds of vague, incoherent and absurd rumors about everybody.

In 1885 the Pine Ridge Indians cultivated 1,748 acres of land (perhaps a quarter of an acre to each person of the population), and had under fence 4,573 acres. They broke up 681 acres of new land, and raised 10,895 bushels of corn, not quite two bushels for each person of the population. They had 3,975 bushels of potatoes, and 9,578 bushels of other root crops, parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, etc. They cut 2,127 tons of hay (the wild grass); 2,300 full-blood Indians were engaged, more or less, in manual labor and civilized pursuits; 676 families had patches of cultivated ground. The Indians of the reserve owned 9,497 horses and 4,927 cattle. They should have a great many more. During the year the men cut 13,000 cords of wood. It sells for \$4.00

per cord. The Indians had the preference over everybody else whenever laborers were wanted. When I visited them they had 1,900 log houses. In 1885 they built 123; the materials supplied by the Government for these cost \$1,845, or \$10.57 per house. During the year these Indians had transported 2,981,097 pounds of freight with their own teams, earning thereby \$42,983.86.

The Government boarding school for Indian boys and girls at the agency, with a capacity for 225 pupils, has a superintendent and seven teachers, and an excellent building. There were eight Government day schools with one teacher each. Each day school building has a capacity for forty-five pupils, and the average daily attendance for the preceding year was sixty-five. The explanation is that there are really two schools at each school-house, the boys attending in the forenoon and the girls in the afternoon, as there is not room for all of them at once. The attendance was remarkably regular. The reservation had in operation one of the best compulsory education laws ever devised. When a child was absent from school without a good reason, the rations of the whole family were cut off till he returned. The young men were rather encouraged to stay away, as it was usually found that they made no effort to learn, and their presence was an injury to the school; but the girls and the younger boys appeared to do very



well. There were at the time of my visit 1,846 children of school age, between 6 and 16. During 1885, 3,430 Indians on the Pine Ridge reserve received medical treatment, 87 deaths and 94 births were reported, but these returns are very incomplete. There are two church buildings, and 1,250 Indian members of the Protestant Episcopal church. I could not ascertain the number of Catholic Indians, as there was at the time of my visit no resident priest of their church.

There is an Indian police, with a regular military company organization, 3 commissioned officers, 18 sergeants, and 30 privates. The pay is \$10 per month for the commissioned officers, and \$8 per month for the sergeants and privates, with two suits of clothing per year. They all thought they should have the same pay as United States soldiers, and the captain wished me to speak to the Great Father about it. Everybody said the Indian police were remarkably efficient and faithful, and that the Indians of this reservation were wonderfully well behaved. In 1885, there were only two cases for the courts of the country in all this population of thousands of Indians. There were very few arrests, no crimes, no serious quarrels or disorderly conduct. (It is to be observed that there was no intoxicating liquor on the reservation.) Security for person

and property appeared to be absolute. The Indians had their Winchester rifles and carbines, and carried them whenever they chose, but no white person on the reservation carried weapons of any kind. In the open country near the agency we slept with the windows open wide enough to admit a full-grown Texas steer, if he had wanted to come in, and one hot night everybody forgot to shut the front door, and it stood open all night, with hundreds of Indians encamped in sight. I travelled alone on foot for half a day at a time in the Indian country, fifty miles from the agency, calling at the Indian houses for water, and learning my way from the people by signs. They were always courteous, though usually shy. All such facts indicate that there must have been for a long time habitually good administration on the Pine Ridge reserve.

The Indian ration on the reservation was, at the time of my visit, 300 lbs of beef, gross weight, for 100 rations, or 150 lbs net; of flour, 50 lbs; corn, 25; coffee, 4; sugar, 7; beans, 3; bacon, 10; salt, 2; and soap, 2 lbs; baking powder, one half pound. 25 lbs hard bread may be issued instead of flour or corn, or 40 lbs of bread instead of both. Rice and hominy may be issued instead of beans. I examined the various articles supplied to the Indians by the Government, and found the coffee, sugar and bacon excellent, the flour not so



good as it should be, probably not so good as the Government pays for. Altogether, this seemed a good enough country for people who are sure of regular, full rations, supplied by the Government, but the land will never sustain a population at all considerable in proportion to its total area. Irrigation is generally impossible in that region, because the beds of the streams lie too far below the surface of the land which is to be cultivated.

When I was at Pine Ridge, Captain Bell, of the U. S. Army, was in charge of the reservation, and Mr. Brown was still clerk, as he had been under Dr. McGillicuddy. But Mr. Clark, the new clerk from Standing Rock Agency, had arrived, and the new agent was protesting, exactly as Dr. McGillicuddy had done, against receiving a man whom he did not know. How Captain Bell was compelled to yield, and how the discussion regarding Agent McGillicuddy's administration has since gone on, are matters of familiar history. The effect of all these changes upon the Indians of the reservation, and upon their advancement in industry and in civilization in general, will furnish matter for future observation and comparison. I know of no reason for supposing that anything has been gained by the dismissal from the Indian service of such a man as the former agent of this reservation.

I have a letter, dated December 17th, 1886, from a very intelligent and practical man, who knows more about the history and general condition of affairs there than any one else who is now on this reservation. He writes: "Dr. McGillicuddy's old plans are still carried out. Blatherskite Indians are learning that they must do something besides talk before they get wagons, furniture, freight orders, etc. They are also hurrying out of their villages, and making an effort to help themselves. Col. Gallagher, the agent, has told them that he will not help them unless they try to help themselves. They realize now that with Dr. McGillicuddy a new system of things came, and came to stay, and that the old time is all dead."

"The crops on the reserve for the past season varied in different places. Medicine Root Creek was favored with rain, while about Mr. Keith's on Wounded Knee Creek, and near the agency, dry weather at planting time, and light rains through the growing season, gave us very light crops. My oats had to be cut before they were ripe. One of my neighbors sowed six acres of seed; enough came up, here and there, to properly cover one acre, perhaps. Through the country about Chadron, and here and there north of the railroad, we hear of poor crops. Most people say that their potatoes were but half a crop. I got about double



the amount of seed that I planted on my half acre. Some of my neighbors in the settlements think they have corn, 'Pride of the North,' a dent corn, ripe enough for seed. Small fruits, excepting grapes, were plentiful. My little trees gave up the struggle, after bravely putting out leaves two or three times. We think last summer was an unusually hot one. In May and July and August there were hot, stifling winds, very severe on vegetation. We are all fairly well. I am beginning to wish that we lived in a country where we could get help in housework."

OMAHA, NEBRASKA.

The Omaha Indian Reservation is in Eastern Nebraska, on the west side of the Missouri River, above Omaha and below Sioux City. It is directly west from Chicago. I visited it early in July. Here I found twelve hundred Indians on a reserve large enough to give more than eighty acres of land to each man, woman and child of the tribe. The soil is of excellent quality, and nearly every acre is fit for cultivation. The natural summer pasturage is probably not surpassed anywhere. This tribe was for several years under good management, and had then as great advantages and opportunities, I suppose, as any Indians in the country. They do not receive rations from the Government, but each member of the tribe still

receives a few dollars in money every year, and there is also an annual issue of goods.

When I was on their reserve the Omahas had been for some months agitated and excited by rumors and discussions regarding the payment in a lump, instead of annual instalments, of all the money which is yet to come to them from the Government of the United States. Their interest in this subject was so great last spring that many of them neglected to plant their corn at the right time, and I found much of it so late and small in July that it was plain that it could not possibly mature. The corn all around them in Nebraska and Iowa was then very good, which showed that the fatal backwardness of the Omaha crop was not caused by an unfavorable season. Their prospect for wheat and other small grain was still worse than for corn. Both white men and Indians said that the approach of the time for an annual payment of five dollars to each member of the tribe is usually enough to produce a general disturbance and suspension of Indian industry for several weeks. The Indians want all this money at once, and I think it would be in every way a good thing to let them have it and expend it and have done with it. They may waste some of it, but if they waste it all, it is still better that they should have it and exhaust it, and then have to depend wholly upon themselves.





A few years ago it was decided that the Omahas were able to paddle their own canoe. So the Government employes were dismissed, and most of the Government property on the reserve was issued to the Indians. The agency shops and buildings were closed, and remain unoccupied, except a small store where the mail is changed. The Government business for the Omahas is attended to by the Indian agent for the Winnebagoes, whose reservation adjoins that of the Omahas. I found that the cows belonging to the Indian schools had been issued to the Indians with the other property. Inquiring what had become of them, I learned that they were very soon killed to provide electioneering feasts, which were given to their followers by the politicians and office-seekers of the tribe. The very bulls which had been placed on the reserve by the Government for the improvement of the native stock were eaten in the same way. At the time of my visit there were very few cows among the Omahas. In riding more than two hundred miles on the reserve I saw but two or three, and the boarding-schools, with nearly two hundred Indian children, had no milk for them.

Under recent conditions these Indians have reverted to what is essentially the old system of tribe government by chiefs or big men. There are some ten "councilmen," but three men ap-

peared to have general control—so far as any control or management existed—at the time of my visit, and there was a show of a great deal of governing, managing and powwowing, feasting, resolving and fol-de-rol, and one "delegation" followed another to Washington as fast as they could borrow money to pay expenses. I saw very few men at work, and even the women had become less industrious than they were formerly. Meanwhile, the weeds grew undisturbed and got away with the corn.

A large proportion of the land formerly tilled was not ploughed last spring. These abandoned fields were everywhere conspicuous, the old cornstalks still standing, but almost hidden by the luxuriant growth of worthless weeds nourished by the rich soil which should have produced abundant crops of corn.

Many of the Omaha Indians were, when I was in their country, already destitute, and were begging for food, and for credit in the stores, in the Nebraska towns near the reservation; and many persons, both among the Indians and white people, said there would doubtless be considerable suffering among the Indians before next spring. But they may pull through by selling timber from the reserve—it will all be gone in a few years—and by industrious begging. Their white neighbors appear to be very kind and liberal.

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There should be a sub-agent on this reservation, who should also be a farmer. He should be a white man, with experience in the management of these Indians. They need a blacksmith and his apprentice, and a carpenter. I saw Indians there who are entirely competent to fill all these places except that of the agent. There should also be a physician on the reserve. To have no Government physician there means simply the unrelieved suffering—and the death each year—of a number of Indians who might be cured and saved by proper medical attendance. As it is, they must perish, uncared for except by those who are powerless to help them. The worst of this state of things is that the suffering which it produces comes chiefly upon the women and innocent children of the tribe. If the politicians and managers were the sufferers, it would not be a matter for so much regret or sympathy.

Only two white men would be required to organize and manage the business and affairs of the reservation. The Indians for the work could be employed at small expense.

The great need is that of control, direction, by some competent head. Of this there was not a shadow or semblance when I was there. Without this we have no right to expect any progress or improvement among these people. The Indian politicians and big men should be set aside; should not be consulted or regarded in any way. They

are all involved in ridiculous personal spites and contentions, and are entirely incapable of even the idea of justice to any one not of their party. They have no conception of the general welfare, or of public spirit. The mass of the people appeared to have little interest in the feuds of the politicians of the tribe. The country looked as if it might be inhabited by a population of boys, who, being left entirely to themselves without instruction, had become timid, discouraged and silly. If these Indians are "wards of the nation," the Government of the United States should control and direct their affairs in such a way as to prepare and train them to take care of themselves after they have been put on the right road.

Everybody whom I saw on the reserve and around it, except those who were trying to be chiefs and managers, said that the Omahas plainly needed a head,—some body to direct and instruct them in farming, and in practical life in general; and that within the last few years—since the Government employes were discharged—the Indians of this tribe had been going backward and not forward. Some of the best of the educated young men were talking of "insurrection," of forcibly deposing and dispossessing the present managers. But I told them the "whole business" would not be worth the trouble and vexation it would involve; that the real evils could not be expelled in

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that way, and advised them to put all their strength into the effort to grow better crops and more cattle than anybody else on the reserve.

Some important features of "the Indian problem" could be very well studied on this reservation if there were any body there competent to observe and compare, to put things together and report in such a way as to make plain the meaning of the facts of the time.

Much valuable missionary and practical work has been done among the Omahas, and whatever wholesome and improving influences still survive among them are in large measure to be attributed to the work and counsel of the Rev. William Hamilton, a Presbyterian missionary, for a long period a laborer on this reservation, and although now far advanced in years, still active and earnest in efforts to benefit and improve these Indians.

Special attention should be given to the preparation of a plan for stock-raising on this reserve. The land is well adapted to this industry, and it should, in time, become one of the chief means of support for the people. There is no reason why these Indians should not in a few years become prosperous dairymen, if they are rightly guided and instructed, but the existing state of things would never lead to such a result. The people in charge of the schools appeared, in the main, to be doing the best they could under the circum-

stances, and to be, most of them, capable and excellent teachers, but the schools had, of course, suffered greatly from the depressing changes of the last few years in the condition and management of the tribe. It will require a rational and practical policy, and judicious administration continued for several years, to restore this reservation and its people to even as wholesome conditions as existed there some years ago.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his recent report, dated September 28th 1886, says: "The success of the Omahas is such as to impress favorably friends of Indians and believers in their civilization, and to afford to Indians everywhere the highest encouragement to adopt the same policy." The Commissioner has evidently been misinformed regarding the condition of the Omahas. Their managers in Washington may be comfortable enough, but when I was on the reserve last summer the main features of the policy in force there were idleness and begging. There is some unwritten history connected with the affairs of these Indians which time may reveal. At any rate, the state of things actually existing on the reservation from year to year is a legitimate subject for observation and discussion by the journalists of the country (though a different opinion is held in some quarters), and if intelligent



and independent men will visit the Omahas occasionally and describe what they see, time will show what fruit is borne there by the policy referred to, and the country can judge what effects would be produced if it were adopted by Indians everywhere.

#### THE WINNEBAGO RESERVATION.

This reservation, a territory adjoining that of the Omaha Indians, is very similar to it in the quality of the soil, but there is a larger proportion of inferior land. I found the reservation in a fairly good and wholesome state of administration, so far as a visitor could judge. These Indians like to work away from home among white people better than on their own land on the reservation, which is, perhaps, for the present, not wholly a matter of regret. They are not so tractable, or susceptible to improving influences, as the Omahas, but they have more vigor and independence of character. It is a difficult reservation to manage successfully, and rapid or showy progress should not be expected here. Much more attention should be given to preparations and plans for stock-raising by these Indians as a means for self-support and the acquisition of wealth. Since I was on the reserve a new agent has been appointed, and, however competent he may be, a year or two will be required for him to become acquainted with his new field of work, before he can accom-

plish anything of considerable value as a leader and ruler of the people under his charge.

#### SANTEE RESERVATION, NEBRASKA.

This reservation was established by executive orders issued by President Johnson in 1866 and 1867. It then contained about 115,000 acres. In 1885 all male Indians who desired to farm were allotted 160 acres of land each, and eighty acres were given to each remaining Indian, male and female (except to the wives of those who had already received 160 acres). The land is inalienable for twenty-five years. In 1885 there were 827 Indians on this reserve, and they held 69,100 acres in separate allotments. The remainder of the reservation, about 44,000 acres, was then opened to settlement as public land, and white men have already begun to take it up. It is, of course, still too early to judge, from this experiment, what will be the effect upon the Indians of the ownership of land in severalty and in fee simple. That cannot be determined until after the expiration of the time for which their land is made inalienable. But under existing conditions such protection for their title is wise and indispensable.

In 1885, 3,527 acres of land were cultivated on this reservation; wheat, 1,011 acres; oats, 585 acres; flax, 288 acres; corn, 1,446 acres; potatoes and other vegetables, 197 acres. Only ninety-





seven acres of new land were broken that year. Rations are now issued only to old, blind and infirm Indians, about fifty in number.

The Indians on this reservation have made very encouraging progress in civilization, in personal habits and home life. This is in large measure the result of the energy and efficiency of the missionary and educational work for which this reservation has long been distinguished. The Normal Training School for Indian youth of both sexes, at Santee Agency, Nebraska, opposite Springfield, Dakota, had 206 pupils at the time of my visit, thirteen teachers in the school, and the same number of instructors in the industrial department. It was established in 1870. Its work has made a channel for itself, deep and broad, and has created conditions which will require and secure its permanence. Its influence is manifest throughout a vast region. Its pupils are instructed in reading, writing, drawing and arithmetic, English composition, geography, history, physiology and music. They also learn carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, brickmaking, farming and housework. The school is managed by the Rev. Alfred L. Riggs, and is under the care of the American Missionary Association. The amount expended in 1885 for mission and school work and building purposes was \$16,339.23. Of this the Government furnished for scholarships and rations, \$9,399.14,

and \$6,940.09 was given by the Association. The school occupies or uses eighteen buildings, all owned by the Association, which also holds, for church and school purposes, 480 acres of land. The Protestant Episcopal Mission holds for church use (it has no school at this agency) 160 acres, and the Government for school and agency use, 490 acres.

The condition and prospects of the people on this reservation appeared to be hopeful and encouraging, although there is yet much to be done in training them to the desire and habit of the accumulation of property, and in the improvement of their homes. I was constantly impressed here by the great differences and contrasts between the conditions prevailing on different reservations. Very few things can be rightly said of Indians in general. It will not do to judge one reservation or tribe by another. Each one must necessarily be treated as a distinct unit or individual for observation, experiment, training and development. In no other way can the needs of the people on any particular reservation be understood.

#### YANKTON, DAKOTA.

This reservation was established by a treaty made at Washington in 1858, and the Indians were brought here the next year. There were then 2,600 of them. In 1885 the agent reported the



population as 1,729. By the treaty the Indians surrendered their title or claim to an extensive region in Southeastern Dakota, and the United States Government, through its Commissioner, the Hon. Charles Mix, agreed to pay them, or expend for their benefit, \$65,000 per annum for the first ten years; \$40,000 per annum for the next ten years; \$25,000 per annum for the following ten years; and \$15,000 per annum for twenty years; \$1,600,000 in fifty years, and \$50,000 additional for buildings, schools, implements, stock, etc., for the Indians. Of this last sum \$10,000 was to be used in building a school-house; the Government agreed to maintain a school or schools for the education and training of Indian children in letters, agriculture and mechanic arts, and the Indians promised to keep in school nine months of each year all their children between seven and eighteen years of age. Fifteen thousand dollars was to be expended in the erection of a mill for sawing and grinding, and of shops for industrial education.

These facts are taken from the agent's report for 1885, which adds: "The Indians have only poor houses, dirt roofs, earth floors, seldom a chair to sit on, few bedsteads, little furniture of any kind, and are but little more civilized in their mode of living than when they were in savage life." This sentence describes very well, so far as it goes, the

state of things existing on this reserve at the time of my visit. The condition and prospects of these Indians did not appear to be in a high degree improving or encouraging. There must have been much incompetent management here in the past. The large building for the Government school at the agency is a miserable structure. There has been much good missionary work done here by the Rev. Joseph W. Cook, of the Episcopal church, the Rev. John P. Williamson, Presbyterian missionary, by the teachers of St. Paul's mission school for boys, and other laborers.

Considering the provisions of the treaty, the progress of these Yankton Indians in civilization has been slight. I saw many capable and interesting men among them, but great numbers, too, of idle, conceited fellows, who acted very much like "spoiled children." Too much regard has been shown them, with the result which uniformly follows such a course. In 1885 1,800 acres of land were reported as cultivated by the Indians, about an acre for each person; new breaking, 182 acres. They had only 500 acres under fence, and there was much complaint of the destruction of the growing crops by stock. They had about 600 acres of wheat and about 1,000 acres of corn, with some potatoes and oats. The country is usually too dry for profitable agriculture, and is better adapted to stock-raising. I think there should be



a thorough reorganization of the Government service on this reservation. Many of the Indians have had an unprofitable kind of education under inefficient management, and it will require considerable time, with competent direction, to establish a new and better order of things. The agent's place is not one to be desired by a conscientious, thoughtful man, being one of great difficulty. But I do not think existing conditions tend to improvement, or would ever render these Indians self-supporting.

#### LOWER BRULÉ, DAKOTA.

This reservation has been consolidated with Crow Creek, and is under the charge of the agent there. It has about 1,300 Indians, and over 300 children of school age, between six and sixteen. The land is mostly poor, and not well adapted to farming, much of it being too strong in "gumbo" or alkali to sustain any considerable or useful vegetation. The Indians' crops had failed, to a great extent, for several years, and, at the time of my visit, the people were not hopeful or courageous in regard to future efforts at farming. During 1885 only 657 acres of land were cultivated by the Indians on this reservation. Their farming thus far has been unimportant. The Government industrial boarding school was in vacation when I was there. The average attendance for the year be-

fore was only twenty-four. There has been for several years much drunkenness among these Indians. They obtain liquor from the town of Chamberlain. If they could be placed farther away from that place—other things being equal—it would be a great advantage to their moral interests.

When I visited the Lower Brulé Indians, the local administration at their sub-agency was, and had been for some time, miserably inefficient, unprofitable and unwholesome. I then supposed that it would very soon be changed, but at the time of latest advices from that region the same unhappy and mischievous state of things continued without improvement. I looked into things while there enough to see clearly that the agent at Crow Creek was not, in any degree, responsible for the evils of the administration at Lower Brulé. He had not the power to remove subordinates, however unfit for their places they proved themselves to be. I do not believe the local administration of the affairs of an Indian reservation so far away as Dakota can be successfully carried on at Washington. The system—if it can be called a system—breaks down everywhere on account of the multiplicity of details requiring attention and speedy decision, and by reason of the amount of time employed in obtaining information and arriving at a decision on the part of the authorities in Washington. While they are considering and

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weighing conflicting testimony, the proper administration of affairs on the reservation is often, to a great extent, suspended, and the most important work in various departments remains undone. In every instance that has come under my observation, whenever the powers of a competent agent have been diminished, the efficiency of the administration on the reservation has been impaired. I am not aware that there has ever been, in any department or kind of administration, an instance of success on the part of a ruler, or chief of a bureau or division, who insists on managing all details, and who constantly interferes with the duties of his subordinates. I see no possibility for the successful conduct of affairs on a reservation, except by having one responsible head, or manager, who shall be always there, and who shall have control of the details of the administration of business, and be able, by some method, to obtain efficient and adequate co-operation from whatever subordinates and employes his work may require.

The healthful local influences on this reservation were chiefly those connected with the work and life of the Rev. Luke C. Walker (missionary of the Protestant Episcopal church, himself an Indian), and of his accomplished wife. Mrs. Walker's ideas and perceptions relating to Indian interests, conditions and needs appeared to be, in an unusual degree, the result of direct and in-

telligent observation of facts, without much interference from prepossessions of any kind. (She is an educated white woman.)

At the time of my visit last summer, Mr. Anderson, the agent for the consolidated reservations, Lower Brulé and Crow Creek, had proposed admirable plans for new school buildings and other important additions to the educational equipment of the Lower Brulé reservation. If the local administration there can be purified and rendered efficient, the additions and improvements in the schools will doubtless produce good results.

But at best, the progress of these people is likely to be slow. The inhabitants of this region, whether Indians or white men, will ultimately have to depend very largely upon stock-raising for their support. But the apportionment, to each family and individual, of a definite subdivision of the land which is any degree adapted to agriculture will be useful by providing for each family an anchorage to a particular spot; thus supplying the basis and primary condition for the establishment and development of the sentiments and associations of home life. I think it might be better to separate Lower Brulé from the Crow Creek reserve. The two reservations are so far apart that much time must be consumed in travel between them while the two have but one agent; and unless the agent can have competent subordinates





at Lower Brulé, it is not fair that he should be responsible for the administration there. The incompetents at Lower Brulé should be dismissed from the service, not sent somewhere else to repeat the history of incapacity.

CROW CREEK, DAKOTA.

On this reservation I found everything in an encouraging condition, so far as the agent's administration was concerned, though he was not yet adequately equipped for his work, not having been provided with competent subordinates. Wheat harvesting was in progress, or nearly over, when I was on the reservation. The Indians had been engaged in farming work with unusual earnestness and industry, and their crops would have been excellent if the rainfall, or the moisture in the ground, had been sufficient to fulfill the promise of the spring and early summer. But the character of both the surface and the subsoil of this reservation is such that the ground does not retain moisture, and the quantity of water required for successful agriculture on a given area will, therefore, always be very great. At the time of my visit the desiccation of the surface was extreme and the prospect for corn was very poor. Wheat had been much shrivelled, and all kinds of small grain injured. The crop of vegetables was a scant one. The result of the season's work is discourag-

ing, but it will probably not be uncommon in that region. The reservation includes a great deal of what would be pretty good country, if irrigation could be employed to supply the water required to sustain the crops after the evanescent moisture of the spring and early summer is exhausted. It does not appear probable that without irrigation it can ever be depended upon to support a very considerable population. An extensive and successful system of water supply for all the requirements of agriculture for the Indians for many years to come would probably be entirely feasible.

The water of the Missouri River could be pumped into a main canal running along the top of one of the higher ridges of the reservation, and distributed thence by lateral channels to all the lower districts. The expenditure required would not be great, and it would soon yield fair returns in the increased productiveness of the region. I think it would be a good thing for the Government to try the experiment of irrigation on the Crow Creek reservation. If successful there, similar methods could be employed elsewhere with desirable results. Much of the adjacent country would be greatly improved by irrigation if it can be applied. Agriculture there is still in a somewhat unsettled condition, as it has not yet been pursued long enough to enable farmers to decide as to what can be grown most successfully. I was



told that corn had sometimes matured in that neighborhood, and the people said that some of it was looking very well when the simoom—as they called it—began to blow a few weeks before I was there. For two weeks the temperature had ranged from 108° to 115° in the shade. Some places reported still greater extremes, but I thought this hot enough. For many days the wind blew a gale, and scorched like the breath of a furnace. It was sad to see the effect of this hot wind.

Without irrigation the soil of the Crow Creek reservation will probably never enable the Indians now inhabiting it to support themselves without assistance from the Government. The region is much better adapted to grazing than to agriculture. But if irrigation can be successfully employed, the agent will probably soon be able to bring his people to a condition of self-support, and to dispense with Government rations altogether and finally.

Many of the people who settled upon the Crow Creek reservation when it was opened by President Arthur's proclamation still remained upon it when I was there, and were engaged in farming and stock-raising. I visited a good many of them at their homes on the prairie. Some of them had tolerable crops of small grain, though the yield was seriously reduced by drought. I saw great fields of corn, forward and prosperous for the

time of year until a few weeks before, but now slowly yielding and perishing in the relentless desiccation of the region. It was almost like seeing human beings dying from lack of water or air. Up to the time of my visit no orders had been received by the agent in regard to these settlers. They were once commanded to leave, but the order was not enforced. They told me they intended to remain—if they could live—and hoped they would not be disturbed, that the reservation would soon be reopened for settlement, and that titles would be given them for the lands they now occupy. Many other settlers left the reservation when the order opening it was revoked. Nobody has any right there, of course, but the matter involves a good deal of hardship for some people who supposed they had a right to go on the land, and Congressional legislation is needed for its adjustment and for the relief of all concerned.

I talked very fully with the leading Indians about the whole subject. Their ideas seemed to be moderate and reasonable. They thought that the boundaries of the reservation, and the tenure of its ownership, should be plainly defined, so as to leave no chance for uncertainty or misunderstanding. I had heard everywhere, while travelling through Iowa, Nebraska and Dakota, that the Indians threatened to harvest the crops of the squatters remaining on the reservation. It was probably



the suggestion of a guilty conscience. Neither the Indians nor the officers on the reserve had heard or thought of such a thing until I mentioned the rumor. The Indians appeared to be as well behaved in relation to the property of white people as anybody could desire. That the ownership of the land of an Indian reservation should be determined by an order from the President of the United States is altogether wrong, and the effect of the plan upon everybody concerned is wholly mischievous. There is far too much of indefiniteness and uncertainty connected with our Indian policy and affairs, and the Indians feel this very sensibly. It is a great obstacle in the way of their advancement. Civilization is impossible for people who may, at any time, be dispossessed of their homes. The title to the land of all Indian reservations should be fixed by law, and their boundaries accurately defined and plainly marked by the Government. How would the farmers of Pennsylvania, or the people of Massachusetts towns, like to have their titles to their homes depend upon an executive order from the President, or the opinion of an attorney general?

The agent at Crow Creek, Mr. Anderson, is a young Kentuckian from Elizabethtown, where he had been Superintendent of Public Instruction for his county, editor of a newspaper, and a public-spirited and useful citizen. He appeared to me

to be a thoroughly honorable and high-minded man, with good judgment, and to be earnestly devoted to his duties as agent, and to the advancement of his people. He told me frankly that he wished to do his duty so thoroughly and well that his work would be creditable to the administration which appointed him. This appeared to me to be a worthy and honorable ambition, and if Mr. Anderson is sustained by the Government, and properly supported and assisted by the subordinates on the reservation, I confidently expect his administration to be highly effective and useful.

#### CHEYENNE RIVER, DAKOTA.

There are about 3,000 Sioux Indians on this reserve, belonging to the four bands, Black Feet, Sans Arc, Minneconjou and Two Kettle. During 1885 they cultivated 1,621 acres of land, or about one-half acre to each person of the population. There is much character and ability among the Indians here, with some unfavorable elements. The reservation has not always had practical and efficient direction, and it is a difficult one for an agent's administration. Educational work and facilities are prominent here. The Rev. T. L. Riggs, of the Congregational Mission, has charge of seven out-station day schools, and of the new contract industrial boarding school for girls at

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Peoria Bottom. A remarkable feature of the work of these day schools is the extent or proportion of the teaching which is devoted to instruction in the Dakota language, the Indian children's own native tongue. The Missionary's Report for 1885 says: "At all but one, the vernacular has been the principal medium of instruction, although at four of them easy lessons in English have been taught. The great need of our Indians just now appears to be careful, rational teaching."

The Government industrial boarding school, near the agency, had a new principal, who would need a little more time and experience to qualify him for the most efficient work, but he appeared to be earnest and well intentioned. One of the best schools I have seen anywhere is that of Mrs. Kinney, St. John's boarding school for girls, near this agency. Many of the young women there appeared really to have been *educated* in a very encouraging and satisfactory degree, and to have attained a well-rounded and symmetrical development of character not often apparent among the educated Indians whom I have seen. I passed an evening with these pupils and their teacher, enjoying their real and natural conversation, and noting the good sense, courtesy and affection which filled the house with a spirit of untroubled peace.

The agent in charge of this reservation, Dr.

McChesney, is one of the most efficient and thoroughly qualified among all the men whom I have known in the Indian service. He has been in this region for many years, has had extensive acquaintance and experience with the Indians as a physician and in other relations, and has unusual business and administrative ability. He devotes himself to the duties of his office with such concentration, ambition and comprehensive foresight as I have seen equalled in but few instances. It would be well for all the interests concerned if this reservation and its affairs could be placed entirely under his control for the next ten years. When I was there, he was hampered and delayed in his work by a new clerk, who thought that he had been appointed to watch the agent on behalf of the government at Washington, and that he was expected to report directly to his superiors there whatever he thought or suspected was wrong in the proceedings of the agent. He was so intent upon "unearthing rascality, fraud and corruption" that his vision sometimes appeared to be distorted and untrustworthy. He thought that he should, himself, be an Indian agent, and it would doubtless result in a great improvement in the affairs of this reservation if he were given a place somewhere else. The work of a clerk is not, however, in any way suited to his qualities and training.



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The "hostiles" of the great camp at Cherry Creek who have recently returned from British America, where they have lived since the close of the last Sioux war, and who are still entirely opposed to civilization, are on this reservation, and their management is a problem requiring much wisdom, tact and force of character. This reserve is only in a limited degree adapted to farming, unless irrigation can be employed. It is, at any rate, likely always to be a stock country.

The work of the Rev. Mr. Swift, missionary of the Protestant Episcopal church on this reservation, deserves especial mention and recognition. He is well adapted to interest and influence the Indians, and to attract their personal regard and affection. Many of his people have made remarkable advances in civilization. Some of them are self-supporting, and live in excellent houses, and their women know how to prepare and cook food so that it shall be wholesome and appetizing. Mr. Swift has been long in the field as a missionary. His judgment in regard to his own line of work is excellent, I should say. I think his well-known attitude in opposition to Eastern Indian schools an error resulting from his having been so long subjected to the isolation of the reservation, apart from the great current of the thought and progress of the country.

#### THE DAWES SIOUX BILL COUNTRY.

Having been directed to examine that part of the great Sioux reservation which lies between the Cheyenne and White rivers, and which would have been opened to settlement if Mr. Dawes' bill relating to it had become a law, I made a ten-days' journey through it. I travelled with two good horses and a light, strong wagon, carrying my own supplies, and camping out at night, with an Indian for driver, cook, interpreter, "guide, philosopher and friend." Starting from the Cheyenne River Agency, we took the Pierre road on the west side of the Missouri River, camping the first night at Fry's. Next day we crossed the Deadwood road and came to Bad River, a short distance from its mouth. There are a few Indians in this region, and it is plain to all observers that their proximity to the town of Pierre is not a benefit to them.

Our course lay up the Bad River valley, crossing and re-crossing the stream occasionally, and the second day's drive took us to the ranch of Napoleon du Chaneux. We followed the valley next day as far up as Van Meter's, where we turned northward. Driving rapidly and late that evening, we reached the old stage station on the Deadwood road at Newbank's, formerly Bross', forty-five miles west from Pierre. Next day westward on the Deadwood road to Mexican Ed's. Seven



miles west of this point I halted next morning to look at Pineaux Springs, once a noted watering place for teamsters. The people of the region say there has been no water there since 1880. There was no sign of a spring there when I looked at the place, except the dry channel worn by the waters years ago, no verdure or swampiness. My Indian said the spring had gone away, and he did not believe it was ever coming back.

A little farther on I turned to the left and drove some twelve or fifteen miles from the road in order to visit the "Bad Lands" of that region. Indicating the point at which the driver should await me with the team, I proceeded across the country on foot. The day was very hot, and the glare of the sun on the white alkali plain was dazzling and painful. The air appeared to become partly visible, and to be in motion up and down, quivering and undulating in such a way that objects seen through it seemed to rise and fall and swim about. Some of the hills were imaged in the sky in an inverted position. These distortions of vision soon produced dizziness and nausea, with sensations much like those of sea-sickness. I found even a few miles' walk something of an undertaking. It was difficult to hold any particular course, except by constant reference to the position of the sun. In places the alkali was a soft paste of unknown depth, and there was nothing to enable the traveller to distin-

guish these treacherous spots. They look exactly like the most solid portions of the rugged, irregular surface. I saw many huge fossil bones which would be objects of interest and value in the East. I was glad to escape from such a region, and even the brown, desolate plain around it seemed hospitable and inviting in comparison. Farther than the eye can reach from the hill-tops around, this queer, fantastic, horrible country extends in various directions. After seeing these hundreds of square miles of alkali of unmeasured depth, one does not wonder that most of the water of the surrounding region is so strongly impregnated with this substance.

After leaving the Bad Lands I turned northward to the Deadwood road, and followed it to the Cheyenne River crossing, where we camped that night, nearly opposite Smithville. For two days before we had been nearly all the time in sight of prairie fires, which, though burning slowly back against the wind, yet advanced across the country rather faster than we could drive. At Mexican Ed's the ranchmen were up all night guarding the place and trying to flank and cut off the approach of the swift-spreading foe; and from my sleeping place this first night on the Cheyenne, all the hills to the east and south-east seemed circled and crowned with flame. Next morning's light revealed black desolation everywhere.

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At this point I left "Brother Dawes' country," as the people there call it, and struck across to the Belle Fourche, reaching that stream about twenty miles above the forks. The valley of the Belle Fourche was trodden into cattle paths, till it looked like a plan of the city of Boston, but there was not an Indian hoof-mark in all the region. It was alive with white men's cattle, as well on the reservation as on the other side of the river. Coming down the Belle Fourche to the junction, and crossing three times to reach that point, I followed down the valley of the Cheyenne, and crossed and re-crossed the stream fourteen times in all. We found a good gravel bottom everywhere except at the mouth of Cherry Creek. Here, when we were about one-third of the way across, the horses suddenly disappeared almost entirely. I thought at first they had stepped off into deep water, and that we were to swim for it, but soon found they were making no progress, and were sinking in the quicksands. They waited awhile, then struggled forward, managing to keep their noses above water most of the time, and thus wallowed slowly across, reaching the shore in a state of extreme exhaustion. Horses not accustomed to the country would probably have drowned.

After leaving the little settlement at the mouth of Bad River, we had seen no Indians in all our journey until we started down the Cheyenne, but

along this river there are numerous camps, and the valley contains a considerable Indian population. The camps on the south side of the river are in Brother Dawes' country. When one travels through an Indian country the Indians ahead always know of his progress, and are ready everywhere for a "grand talk." As I could not stop everywhere, I usually told the people along the road that I would meet them at certain places and hear whatever they wished to say. One Indian came out to the road and insisted that I should make a speech to him. He was disgusted when he found that I would only converse.

At one place there was a characteristic exhibition of Indian foolery. Two chiefs thought I should be more impressed with an idea of their greatness, if, instead of coming out to greet me in the usual fashion, they remained at home in state and compelled me to hunt them up in order to pay my respects. I learned this at once on entering their village, and told my driver to proceed. We had gone a mile or two on our way when the two pompous old dignitaries came galloping after us. They were very angry, and with imperious and threatening gestures, and much vociferation, ordered us to return to the village. I did not halt, but bade the driver tell them I would talk with them at the next camp, some miles ahead. After scolding awhile they planted

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themselves in the road and tried to stop my horses; but as we drove rapidly upon them they gave way, and suddenly rode off at a great pace. When I reached the next camp, a large one, there was much bustle and excitement, and a great crowd gathered around as a messenger came to meet me. With much formality he told me the chiefs were in council to arrange for a great dance; their business was very important, and I must wait till it was concluded, then they would see me. I replied that dances were not affairs for men in my country, but for children, and at once drove out of the camp. A procession of riders followed, with furious messages, but I went on two or three miles to a convenient camping place, and halted for dinner. Then, after all their flurry and noise, those fussy fellows came out quietly enough, and we had a talk in the usual style.

All the Indians that I saw on the great Sioux reservation, except a few who were under the influence of missionaries who favored the measure, declared that they were unalterably opposed to the "Dawes Sioux Bill," and to the relinquishment of any more of their lands. These Cheyenne River Sioux said "that if the President himself should come and ask them for some of their land they would not give it up." They were all thinking so much about vast tracts and regions, and of their fathers having always owned all the land

from sunrise to sunset, that they could not be made to understand the value of 160 acres, or the importance of its individual ownership to each individual Indian. They said also that in future they would have to raise stock, and asked me why, when all the land is theirs, they should give it nearly all up to white men, and try to live upon little lots that could not more than supply pasturage for the few milk cows that each family would need for milk and butter for home use. They said that in many places there would not be grass enough on 160 acres to provide any hay for winter use, after pasturing half a dozen cows during the summer, and wished me to tell them where they would pasture the droves of horses and cattle which they would have to raise for sale in order to obtain a living from the land "as white men do." Their ideas, which are partly the product of instinctive feeling, and partly the result of observation and judgment, are not wholly wrong, or without reason. Any plan which requires the sub-division and fencing in individual allotments of the Indian grazing lands will, I think, ultimately be found defective and impracticable, in many instances, from its lack of adequate recognition of the natural qualities of the country, and of the necessary conditions of profitable pastoral industry in these regions.

Some of these Indians along the Cheyenne were



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among the latest of the hostiles to come in from British America and surrender to our Government, for the sake of being put on the ration list. They oppose farming, schools, and all steps toward civilization, and when one of their number attempts to leave the camp, and live apart from his fellows, trying to raise a crop and a few cattle, the others "soldier" him, kill his cows, destroy his fences and crops, and beat and maltreat the man himself till he is obliged to relinquish his efforts to take the first steps toward civilized modes of life. It is matter of regret that we must feed these obstructionists who hinder those who would improve. The chiefs in this region did not appear to be equal, in native intellectual or personal qualities, to some whom I had seen elsewhere.

Many of the Cheyenne River Indians had been trying to farm last summer on a larger scale than ever before, and some of them had done very well as to work and effort, but their crop was a very scant one on account of drought.

This journey was undertaken with the object of learning something, by direct examination, of the character of the land of this part of the great Sioux reservation. There is some fairly good land along Bad River, which would sometimes, if there should ever happen to be rain enough, yield moderate crops of corn, vegetables and other products. But the valley is narrow, and much of it

is rendered worthless by the alkaline wash from the hills. There is not much of the valley altogether. One would need several miles of its length, and the country on each side as far back from the water as the cattle would go, to make a good stock farm. Irrigation would, of course, greatly increase the value of the land, but the river runs at the bottom of so deep a channel that the water cannot be raised to the fields without considerable expenditures for machinery. It is a good country for stock, wherever there is water, and I saw the white man's cattle everywhere. There were many thousands of them in this region. The Government had ordered their removal, giving the owners sixty days' notice. The time would expire about October 12th. Where there is grass to be had outside of the reservations the cattle may be removed, but in regions where there is not grass enough outside of the Indian lands to winter the cattle of the country, many of them will probably winter on the reservations, either by permission or by trespass. If the matter is brought to a practical test, it will be found impossible to compel the owners to keep the cattle off the reservations, and equally impossible for anybody else to keep them off; but the grass should be paid for, as it belongs to the Indians, though many Western men like to talk elaborately about the grass and the land, which the Indians do X



not use, as belonging to the people of the country.

The country between the Bad River valley and that of the Cheyenne is a high, rolling or undulating plain. It is beautiful when clothed in the first verdure of spring, but the greenness which is so satisfactory to the eye fades about the end of June, as if autumn had suddenly descended upon the land, and summer were crowded out of the succession of the seasons. Then the traveller sees everywhere the interminable landscape covered thinly with the short, brown wire-grass, so dry that it seems as if it might burn by spontaneous combustion. The land would undoubtedly be suited in a moderate degree to the growth of various farm products, if sufficient water to sustain vegetation could be applied, in which case it would also support great herds of cattle and horses. The only water the region contained when I travelled through it was that which remained at the bottom of the "water-holes" along the hollows or depressions in the land which receive the water supplied by melting snow and rainfall in the spring. It is the fashion in Dakota to call these water-holes "springs." They are springs in the same sense in which a cistern is a spring. I examined a great many of them. They all had exactly the same character. The mud of the bottom and sides formed a plaster, cement or paste, which is

nearly or quite impervious to water. Many of the holes are so deep that the water which remains in them in the summer is shaded by the bank, and by the grass on its edge, which thus protects from evaporation the water which nourishes it. In several instances I observed that the settlers and ranchmen had tried to improve these natural cisterns by deepening and enlarging them. In every instance, as soon as the impervious bottom of the basin is broken through, the water all runs out. Many of these water-holes have also been destroyed by the trampling of the stock resorting to them, which broke up the bottom with the effect just noted. Most of the water is very strongly alkaline. A few wells have been sunk in the region, and in most of those I saw the water is worse than in the water-holes. Much of the time on this journey I durst not drink of the water, and even rinsing my mouth with it made it sore. My Indian would drink it, though it always made him sick; but I preferred to endure the tortures of thirst, though these were not slight in a temperature which was above  $110^{\circ}$  in the shade, while we were all day exposed, shelterless, to the sun.

The valley of the Cheyenne is larger than that of the Bad River. Some of it is equally good land, while other portions are inferior in quality to the soil along the smaller stream. In some places the river gravels cover the entire breadth of the val-

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ley from bluff to bluff, and in others the land is so sandy as to be worthless. Taking it altogether, "Mr. Dawes' country" is a fairly good country for stock, but is not very valuable for farming. Not much of it is now occupied by the Indians, except the south bank of the Cheyenne. It would be a good thing to open this region to settlement by white people, not because it will be of great value to them, as it will not, but for the sake of the effect upon the Sioux people. It is imperative that something shall be done to arouse them, if that is possible, to a sense of impending change. They need to be made to hear the footsteps of destiny upon their path. They will probably never make any considerable preparation for the experiences of civilization while they own these vast tracts and regions of unoccupied land, and do nothing to obtain any benefit or means of civilization from them. They should be, by every means, interested in stock-raising, and instructed, guided and compelled to engage in it. What is needed for them in this matter is competent direction.

I will indicate my route through this country more exactly, in order that any one who wishes to see the same regions may know where to go. Going southward from Cheyenne River Agency, I passed Fred. Fry's, Shanty Creek, Hawk's, Napoleon du Chaneux's ranch, Landre's, Arpin's,

Plant's, the Northwestern Transportation Company's Station, Daugherty's, Van Meter's on Bad River, Newbank's, Plum Creek, Frank Cottle's, Mitchell Creek, Medicine Creek, Souhn's, Grindstone Buttes, Clark's, Dead Man's, Mexican Ed's, Head of Bad River, Pineaux Springs, Bad Lands, Cheyenne Crossing at Smithville, Belle Fourche, Junction, or Forks of the Cheyenne, Bull Eagle's Camp, Red Skirt's, Narcelle's, Bridge's, Touch the Cloud's, White Thunder's, Straight Head's, Spotted Elk's, Long Bull's, Hump's, Cherry Creek, Plum Creek, Scar Leg's, Du Pui's, Blue Cloud's, Two Eagle's, Log's, Cook's, Sans Arc's, Cottonwood, Mission and home to the Cheyenne River Agency, whence I set out ten days before. I came to have great respect for the brave horses which served me so faithfully on this journey, taking me safely into and out of so many places where passage seemed impossible; and I am glad to mention here the fidelity and good judgment of my driver and guide, Oscar Dewees Hotchkiss. (Mr. Hotchkiss is a well-educated Indian, and is one of the best interpreters in the country. At the time of my visit he was in the service of the Government as a teacher, but has since been dismissed by orders from the Indian Office, at Washington, for what reason is not known, I believe, on the reservation. His thorough knowledge of both languages, and



his intimate acquaintance with the country and with the Indians of the region, rendered his work valuable in many ways, and his dismissal involves a loss to the service on the reserve.)

The psychology of the white people of this Dakota Indian country and the adjacent regions has features of curious interest. One observes queer twists in thought, as if the nature and relations of the realities of life had been reversed for people in Dakota, and facts, in that region, were not important and need not be recognized or respected. Unless this is actually true, there must be pretty severe discipline ahead for individuals and communities in that country. At present it is a most interesting and attractive region to a student of civilization. On this journey I found a woman from Cincinnati who had taken possession of an abandoned ranch in the heart of the great Sioux reservation. She said she might be ordered off at any time, but she admired the country so much that I shall be sorry if she is not allowed to remain. She said it was the best country she ever saw; it suited her exactly. "Why," said she, "we can do just as we please. There is no law. We can knock a man down, and kick him for falling, and there is nothing done about it." At this point I thought it prudent to retire on my Indian reserve.

There should be a town at the junction of the

Belle Fourche and Cheyenne, with a small newspaper, the *Alkali Weekly Growl*, clamoring for the opening of the reservation. There are many white men now living comfortably on good farms in Wisconsin, Iowa and other States who will never be happy till they are "inside of the great Indian reserve," and have a chattel mortgage on everything they possess, on which a loan agent will let them have a dollar at two per cent. a month. Let them come in. They are the predestined prey of the land and loan agent. In a few years they will think it a great hardship that "the Government feeds the lazy Indian whelps, while it does nothing for its best white citizens." A great wave of immigration will spread over this region as soon as it is opened to settlement, and the land will be valuable to those who can sell it at a considerable advance upon its cost.

"We will open the Soo reservation,  
And boom the grand alkali plains;  
There's money in civilization,  
The tenderfoot pays for our pains."

#### STANDING ROCK, DAKOTA.

The best country that I found anywhere in the great Sioux reservation is in the north-eastern corner of it. Standing Rock reserve has a population of 4,690 Indians. Their settlements begin at Cannon Ball River, and extend southward along





the Missouri River about seventy miles, and westward up the Cannon Ball, Grand River, and smaller streams about forty miles. The agency is in latitude  $46^{\circ} 10'$ . These Indians belong to the Upper and Lower Yanktonnais, Hunkpapa, and Blackfeet bands of Sioux. The officers of the reserve told me that the Indians had worked very well last spring, putting a large crop into the ground early in the season, but a severe drought, lasting through June and July, with blighting hot winds, and a temperature ranging from  $90^{\circ}$  to  $110^{\circ}$  in the shade for four weeks, parched the grass and destroyed the crop of oats. Wheat was about half a crop. The Indians on the reserve had in cultivation at the time of my visit about 3,500 acres of land, most of it well fenced and cared for. The year's new breaking was about 750 acres. I saw a large proportion of the farming land and of the houses on the reserve.

Every family cultivated its own field or garden patch. Nothing was held in common except a few mowing machines for the general use of certain bands. These were purchased by several Indians of the same band clubbing together to buy each machine. The wheat area for 1886 was 525 acres; oats, 290 acres; corn, about 2,000 acres; with about 700 acres in potatoes, turnips, squashes, pumpkins, onions, beans, beets, carrots, etc. The season's crop was estimated at 8,000 bushels of

corn, 950 bushels of oats; wheat, 5,000 bushels; potatoes, 3,500 bushels, and 5,000 bushels of beets, carrots, rutabagas, etc.; hay, 4,000 tons. During the year the Indians had cut from dead and fallen cotton wood and oak timber 1,500 cords of wood, selling it to steamboats, to the agency schools, and to Fort Yates for about four dollars per cord. They had built for themselves more than 100 new log cabins, and many stables and sheds for stock, had made about 4,000 rods of new fence and kept the old in repair. Ten new mowing machines and five sulky rakes were bought by individual Indians. Six Indians had employed skilled white mechanics to build hewed log houses for them, 16 x 32 feet in size, one and a half stories high, with two rooms on the first floor. These are among the best hewed log houses I have ever seen anywhere. The Government supplied the lumber and shingles for them. The agent thought it would be an advance upon present methods if the Government would provide skilled labor to build such houses, with open fireplaces, good floors, and shingle roofs, reducing the subsistence issues, if necessary, to balance increased expenditures. He believes that a majority of the more progressive Indians on his reservation would accept such conditions in order to secure comfortable homes.

There were 1,003 children here between six and

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sixteen years of age. For these there are two Government boarding schools, five Government day schools, and one mission day school. The agricultural boarding school, sixteen miles south of the agency, has a capacity of sixty pupils. It had 105 acres under cultivation at the time of my visit, thirty-five acres added in 1886. The boys of twelve years and upwards here learn farm-work in all its branches, working half of each day and studying the other half. The average attendance for the last school year of ten months was above fifty-eight. There were seven teachers. The school and farm, the boarding houses and the entire establishment, are under the charge of Father Martin Kemel, with several Benedictine nuns and lay brothers. Aggregate annual salaries, \$3,140. This I thought a good school, well managed, and in good condition. I noted especially that all the teachers and subordinates appeared to be in thorough accord and sympathy, in good spirits, and happy in their work. These desirable conditions do not exist in all the Indian schools I have visited.

The industrial boarding school at the agency had a capacity of 100 pupils, but had an average attendance of 116, and a part of the year 135 had been crowded into it. During the vacation in 1886 seventy pupils remained at this school in preference to going home. They were relieved

from class studies, but all other work and discipline continued as during the school term. This school receives girls of all ages, and boys up to twelve years. The garden of five acres is cultivated by the boys, under the direction of the industrial teacher, and the girls learn various things in housekeeping. There are eight teachers; aggregate salaries, \$3,580. A good school and a good home, I think, for these young people. I also visited the Cannon Ball day school, twenty-five miles north of the agency. The average attendance is sixty, which is the full capacity of the school. There are two teachers; annual salary, \$980. A mid-day meal is given to the pupils here, with most satisfactory and excellent effect upon all concerned. The Grand River day school I did not see. It is forty miles south-west of the agency, between two settlements of the recently hostile Sioux. They were at first hostile to the school, but all opposition has ceased, and the school is said to be highly successful. Capacity, sixty; average attendance, forty-six; two teachers, salaries, \$816. The mid-day meal is also given at this school. I have seen the pupils at many Indian boarding schools taking their meals. Their table manners are as good as those of average New England families. Sixty-five pupils from here were in schools off the reserve; 612 pupils,



or sixty per cent. of all of school age, attended school the last school year.

The missionary work on this reserve is mainly under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Marty, Catholic bishop of Dakota. He had maintained four mission stations here during the past year, expending in the work \$2,280. Three resident fathers said they had baptized 292 Indians during the year, of whom eighty were adults. There were seven marriages by the church. There were daily services at three points, and at two places three services each Sunday. The Rev. T. L. Riggs has a mission station on Grand River, in charge of a native catechist, and Bishop Hare has a mission and a neat chapel on Oak Creek, with a native resident minister, the Rev. Philip DeLorea, who some years ago renounced the chieftainship of his tribe. Deaths on the reserve, 172, most of them from consumption and scrofula. Only one death among the 225 pupils enrolled in the two boarding schools. The agent is very desirous to establish a hospital for the Indians, and it is greatly needed. I know of no new or additional expenditure for this reserve that would yield better practical results. There are thirty Indian policemen, very efficient and useful. There is an Indian court with three judges, two of them officers of the Indian police. The agent recommended

separating the judges from the police force, and a salary to the judges of about twenty dollars per month. There were sixty-seven Indian transgressors punished by the Indian court in 1885. No other Indian crimes. Two white men stole cattle and ponies, and one white man got eight months in State prison for bringing whiskey on the reservation. The Indians of the reserve own 2,800 ponies, 2,450 cattle, 100 swine, and 4,000 domestic fowls. Twenty-five per cent. of these Indians subsist by their own labor in civilized pursuits, five per cent. by fishing, hunting, root-gathering, etc., and seventy per cent. live upon Government rations. There are 2,190 males and 2,500 females. More than 2,000 persons wear the dress of white people.

No allotments of land had been made, but 850 families had located upon individual claims, and 1,120 families cultivate farms or small patches of ground. There is a great deal of good land on the Cannon Ball and Grand rivers, and enough of it for the use of the Indians should be secured to them as a permanent possession. Some white men in that region think it would be a good thing to crowd all the Indians of this part of the West together on the poor land of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations. But it would be much better to bring some of the Indians away from the poorer reserves and establish them on

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any good land that may be left when the Standing Rock Indians have received their separate allotments. The Indians should have the best of the land on all the reservations, and as much of it as they need. It is theirs of right.

The Indians of this reservation have for several years made steady progress under the administration of the present agent, James McLaughlin, Esq., who has long been one of the most successful officers in the Indian service. Very few have been in the work so long as he. When I was on the reserve he had been for some months compelled to give much attention and time to the clerical work in the office, to the detriment of his proper employment in direct relations with the Indians. The liberal and intelligent support given to schools here, and the system of practical instruction in farming by teachers stationed in the different settlements to direct and assist beginners, have produced effects which are already conspicuously interesting and valuable. I observed that some desirable things which are accounted impossible in other places are a part of the regular administration on this reserve, and appear to be done without special difficulty or friction. The Indians of this reservation should be specially stimulated and guided in the direction of increased attention to stock-raising. It would probably always be safe and wise to

make any arrangement, or follow any line of management, desired or recommended by the agent here. If he could select his subordinates, he would doubtless be able to produce far greater and more satisfactory effects in the advancement and civilization of the Indians.

#### CROW RESERVATION, MONTANA.

The Crow reservation is an enormous territory, of which only a small portion is occupied by the Indians. The land suited to cultivation is mostly in the valleys of the Big Horn and Little Big Horn rivers, and that of Pryor's Creek. It produces good crops under sufficient irrigation, but is nearly worthless for agriculture without it. The water can be very conveniently applied along both rivers. I did not visit the Pryor's Creek country. When I was on the reserve rations were issued to 3,400 Crows, but a census was soon to be taken, which would probably reduce the number considerably. Messrs. John G. Walker and James R. Howard, special agents of the Department of the Interior to make allotments of land in severalty to the Crow Indians, arrived on the reservation while I was there, and at once entered upon their duties. They appeared to be sensible and substantial business men, courteous and comfortable. Their work must prove a tedious business if it is done properly and thoroughly, and I saw that they



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could not do more than make a good beginning before the end of the season. The work cannot be carried forward during the winter in that region.

The allotment in severalty of the agricultural land is desirable and necessary, but the subdivision of the grazing land of this reserve into individual allotments is a measure of doubtful utility for the Indians. It is much more in the interest of the white people than of the present owners of the land, but in the Northwest everything is moving, of late, with a mighty swing and sweep in the direction of the individual allotment of all Indian lands. The white men are eager for their share. It seems probable that the real nature of the plan—when applied to grazing lands—and its ultimate effect upon the interests of the Indians, may not be adequately considered until it is too late for any effective change.

The subject of greatest popular interest in Montana when I was there was the question of grass for wintering cattle. The great cattle-men were at their wit's end. The country outside of the Indian reservations was greatly overstocked; the general drought had shortened the supply of grass, and it was probable that many thousands of cattle would starve unless they could winter on the Crow reservation. "There's millions in it,"—the cattle business,—and many of the largest investors were

prophesying disaster, and said they would gladly get out with their share, if they could, or sacrifice a large proportion if they could save the rest. The cattle-men said they were willing to pay well for the use of the grass for this one season, with any conditions which the Government might wish to impose. The matter rested with the Indians, I believe, and the Government had, some time before, requested the agent, Gen. Williamson, to confer with the Crows, and to effect an arrangement with the cattle-men. But he asked to be excused, not wishing to expose himself to the accusations of corrupt dealing which would inevitably be made. So the matter remained in abeyance.

Cattle pay ten cents per head for passage across the reservation. Some large herds were being driven very slowly through, and I thought they would, perhaps, not get outside before next spring. Their owners should be required to pay for the grass if they winter on the reserve. The Indians should derive some benefit from the use of their property. Under such circumstances it would probably be best to collect a good rental from the cattle-men, and admit them to the reservation with their herds for the winter, under proper conditions, as it was plain that the cattle were likely to winter on the Indian grass, whether permission was given to their owners or not, and that if they



came in as trespassers they were not likely to pay anything.

There was but one school on this reservation, and no school building except a boarding house for a Government school at the agency. This is a badly-constructed building, entirely unsuited to the winter climate of the region. It is nearly uninhabitable in cold weather. It has no school-room, but in this miserable structure Mrs. Williamson, the wife of the agent, managed to keep between forty and fifty young Crows together. It was a forlorn business. She had scarcely any facilities for teaching, but the children had the benefit of her personal influence and association. The building should be condemned and pulled down, or converted to other uses. When I was there the agent had plans for new buildings for school and other purposes, which, I believe, were accepted at Washington, and I hope he may be able to provide adequate school accommodations for his people.

When I was there there was no religious or missionary work among the Crows, except the personal work and visiting of Catholic missionaries among the Indians. Even they had as yet no school or mission building, but they expected soon to erect one. The Crows were once assigned to Methodist supervision, but this church never established any work among them. Of late its

managers confess their neglect of duty in the matter, and they also are entering upon work. The Rev. Mr. Bond, a Unitarian missionary, formerly agent of the Utes, was rather ahead of his brethren of other religious bodies, as he had already begun the erection of a large school building, etc., at Seven Mile Point, on the road from Custer Station (on the Northern Pacific R. R.) to Fort Custer and Crow Agency. So I here saw the beginning of what is, I believe, the one lone, lorn Unitarian mission among the Indians of our country. People say that the Crows greatly need improvement, that they are an immoral race, and are rapidly declining in numbers in consequence.

When it has been decided how much land they need, most of what remains of their reservation should be sold for their benefit; efficient irrigating works should be constructed along the rivers, and the Indians should be encouraged to raise cattle, horses, sheep, hogs and domestic fowls. Their reservation is naturally suited to be a stock country, and whoever inhabits it, white man or Indian, must depend mainly upon stock-growing for subsistence and prosperity.

(The Custer monument and battle-field, the scene of the massacre of June, 1876, are in sight from the agency, two or three miles away. I found the monument, a substantial one of granite, bearing the names of the United States officers and

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soldiers who were here cut off to the last man by the Sioux. It is enclosed by an adequate iron fence. While I was looking at it, numerous Indians came galloping up from various directions to see who I was, and to have a talk. The massacre will always be one of the puzzles of military history. It is all the more inexplicable when one sees the ground, and studies the character of the surrounding country.)

#### YAKIMA, WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Going down through Washington Territory from the East to the Yakima reservation, I found few people who could tell me the way; but I left the through train on the Northern Pacific R. R. at Pasco Junction, and took the new line of the same road (now in course of construction over and through the Cascade Range) to North Yakima. Here I obtained a good team and a strong wagon, with a driver who knew the country, and went out across the reservation, 33 miles, to Fort Simcoe, the Yakima agency. I found Mr. Charles H. Dickson, U. S. Indian Inspector, in charge of the reservation. He was assisting Mr. Charles E. Sausser, the newly-appointed agent for the Yakima reserve, in making an inventory of the Government property. These gentlemen received me with great courtesy and kindness, and on learning that my errand was an examination of the condition

of the Indians, and the affairs of the reservation, they at once offered me all possible assistance. Mr. Dickson had been in charge of the agency since April 17th, 1886. Mr. Sausser, the agent, had reached the reservation only eight days before my arrival.

He had found the place of chief clerk vacant, and was greatly hindered and embarrassed in beginning his work without the services of this indispensable assistant. He had telegraphed to the Indian Office at Washington, immediately after his arrival at Fort Simcoe, asking that a competent clerk should be sent him as soon as possible. Although only a week had passed, he was already impatient because no response to his application had been received from the Washington people, as his need of a clerk's help was so pressing. But I jocularly warned him that he might find by and by that he had been as well off when alone, as some young man from Tennessee or Mississippi, entirely unacquainted with the work of an agency clerk, would probably be sent him from Washington, and that he would then have to do the work himself, besides trying to teach the clerk. He was indignant, and said that if such a man were sent him he would resign at once.

I looked around pretty thoroughly at Fort Simcoe, and talked very fully with Mr. Dickson, the

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inspector acting as agent in temporary charge of the reservation. He had been long in the service, had resigned, and his resignation had been accepted, to take effect when he "got things settled at Yakima." I did not suppose Mr. Sausser would resign, but I found that Mr. Dickson was really apprehensive and uneasy lest he might do so. Dickson was extremely tired of his long detention at Fort Simcoe. He found the business of an agent very little to his taste, and looked forward eagerly to the prospect of release, when the new agent should receipt for the property and assume the duties and responsibilities of agent and the control of the reservation. He was naturally alarmed at the thought that the new agent might not remain, and that in consequence there might be no release for him, after all.

Gen. R. H. Milroy, formerly Indian agent at Yakima, a man of the highest character, whose administration had been signally successful, was removed September 21st, 1885, without any cause assigned, and in a manner which he felt to be the expression of marked and deliberate official discourtesy. Col. Timothy A. Byrnes, of Atlantic City, New Jersey, had been appointed to succeed him, and took charge of the agency the next day. Col. Byrnes had served under Gen. Milroy in the civil war. When I saw the General, soon after my visit to Yakima, he would say nothing

unkind or unfavorable of his former subordinate. But Byrnes did not fare so well in the hands of Inspector Bannister, who suspended him in April, 1886. I asked Inspector Dickson the reason of Byrnes' suspension, and he said it was entirely without cause, and that he had never known a man more deeply wronged than Col. Byrnes. I told him that it was matter of common report in the adjacent country that Byrnes was intemperate, and that various persons had seen him when he was so much under the influence of liquor as to be disqualified for the proper transaction of the business of his office as agent, and asked him if it were true. He said, emphatically, that it was not true.

I had heard that the Rev. Frank R. Spaulding, a young Methodist Episcopal minister, had been expelled from the reservation by Inspector Dickson, and asked him about it. He said that it was true, and that Spaulding had circulated false and injurious stories about the agent, Col. Byrnes, and some of the employés, and that his course of action was prejudicial to good order and efficient administration on the reserve. Spaulding had been ordered away by another inspector, and Mr. Dickson, when he came to the reservation, had approved the order, and he intimated that if Spaulding came back he would have him shot. Afterward I hunted up J. H. Fairchild, who had





been clerk at Yakima under Gen. Milroy, and before that under Father Wilbur, so long the agent here. He is a Methodist, a man of good sense, great caution and high character. I found him living on a farm in the country east of Portland, Oregon, and asked him about Spaulding. He said he was a good fellow, very young when he was at Yakima, and perhaps was liable to attach more importance than was entirely safe to what the Indians told him.

I went to see Dr. Hine, editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, in Portland, and asked him if young Spaulding had lost anything in the church or ministry by his course at Yakima. He said: "No; he has gained. He may have pushed his battle against evil a little farther than prudence would approve." Finally, I went to see the young man himself. He was stationed at Wasco, Oregon. Leaving the railroad at Grant's, after a journey by stage through constant, irritating, poisonous, unbreathable clouds of alkali dust, I arrived at the young minister's place. I found him of most youthful appearance, not yet 24 years of age, I believe, frank, cordial, unreserved and zealous. He appeared to me very sensible for his age, and altogether well-meaning, honest and manly. He told me all the story freely, his wife, a young woman, evidently of fine spirit and character, quietly taking part in the story and supplementing

and confirming what her husband said. He had observed various things, unfavorable to morality and religion, in the conduct of persons in official stations on the reservation, and had written to the editor of his church paper regarding these proceedings. He said his account might not have been judiciously written, but thought he had no reason for regret. I concluded there had been some misunderstanding. I prefer not to discuss the merits of this case, which attracted much attention in the Pacific coast region, and I give the story of my investigation of it as an illustration of the accidental and uncertain elements of life and work on an Indian reservation, and of the risks and perils incident thereto. I thought Spaulding an excellent young man.

Two or three weeks after I was at Yakima I met Col. Sausser on the Northern Pacific Railroad, on his way to Washington, and travelled with him for some hours. He had his resignation in his pocket, and was going on to present it to the President. I read it. It was a brief, dignified, and manly presentation of the now familiar view, brought forward a year ago by Dr. McGillicuddy, the argument that a heavily-bonded agent should have a clerk in whose integrity and business efficiency he can feel entire confidence. That was the last I saw of Col. Sausser. He was a good Democrat, and, I thought, a capable and efficient



business man, much above the average of Indian agents in character and ability. He was from Lebanon and Cincinnati, Ohio. I should be glad to meet him again.

Altogether, five men, I believe, have been in charge of this reservation since Gen. Milroy's removal. I felt sorry for Inspector Dickson, as he was anxious to be at home on account of sickness in his family; but I am not certain that he is not still left to "hold the fort" at Yakima. I saw Mr. William Parsons, Special Agent of the Department of the Interior, in Southern Oregon at the end of October, and he thought he might have to go on to Fort Simcoe to relieve Dickson, after a few weeks' work on the Umatilla reserve. But I have not heard whether the last new agent thought it worth while to come out and look over the field or not. (Mr. Thomas Priestley, of Wisconsin, has been confirmed as agent at Yakima.)

I think Mr. Dickson a capable and industrious officer, but the condition of the Indians, and the general administration and course of affairs on the reservation, have suffered serious depression and injury by the frequent changes of agents. The state of things would probably have been more satisfactory to-day, even to the Administration at Washington, had Gen. Milroy been retained in his place as agent. There are many very good men among the Indians of this reservation, and

some who are becoming more and more uncivilized. The Methodist Episcopal church had a very prosperous and substantial religious organization and work among these Indians during the terms of Father Wilbur and Gen. Milroy, but it has lost much of its vitality under recent depressing conditions. I saw nothing hopeful or encouraging in the organization or condition of the Government school at Fort Simcoe, except the evident ability and character of Mrs. Lillie Kalama, one of the teachers, a Warm Springs Indian girl, from the Salem school. She spoke the best English I have ever heard used by an Indian. She used the pronunciation of educated *Ohio* people, and I wondered where and how she learned it.

I hope the superintendent of the school has before this time succeeded in getting into politics, which he told me was the object he chiefly had in view. He said he had worked hard in the last political campaign, making speeches in both English and German. He had taught school but once before, and then felt he would rather do the hardest work as a laborer on a railroad all day long than to teach school. I thought his preference and judgment regarding these different occupations entirely reasonable and correct. He is a good-hearted young man, with more than average ability; he will probably be in the legislature of his State in a few years. But if he was entitled to

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a political office, he should have been given something else; not the superintendency of an Indian school.

There is much rich land on this reserve. It is too dry for agriculture without irrigation, but if water can be applied it is likely to be very productive. The agency at Fort Simcoe has a beautiful situation, and there are some good buildings. The people there say the agent's house was built by Gen. Garnet when he was a young officer in the U. S. Army, in command in this region, and that the timbers and lumber for the building were all prepared in New York, ready to put together, and were shipped to this distant region *via* Cape Horn. Gen. Garnet was killed in West Virginia, at the opening of our civil war, fighting, I believe, against Gen. Milroy, who afterward came to Yakima as Indian agent, and lived in the house built by Gen. Garnet. The old block-house is still standing at Fort Simcoe.

On my way down through the Puget Sound country, I stopped at Olympia, the capital of Washington Territory, to see Gen. Milroy, and present to him assurances of the regard and esteem of good people in the Eastern States, and of their appreciation of the value of his work in the Indian service at Yakima. I had not seen him since the close of the civil war. I found him still an interesting and commanding personality. He was

deeply touched by the messages of respect from the Indian Rights Association and other Eastern friends. The General is now above seventy years of age. His long service of public interests has left him poor. He is trying to make a living by the practice of his early profession, that of law, but at his age this is not likely to be remunerative, and such a man should not now be obliged to depend upon toil of this kind for his daily bread for the very few years that may remain for him. His pension from the country he served so long and so efficiently is but thirty dollars per month.

#### NISQUALLY AND SKOKOMISH, WASHINGTON.

In all my journey of thousands of miles, the first region that I saw which gave me the feeling that I should like to "settle," and live there as a farmer, was the Puyallup Valley, near Puget Sound, in the northern part of Washington Territory. There I saw green grass—long an unfamiliar sight—and rich soil; and there is rain there in the season for it. The agent says his Indians are "real folks," and they look and act as if it were so. Many of them live in good framed houses, which are embosomed in green trees and surrounded by orchards heavily laden with fruit, with grape vines climbing and tumbling and sprawling everywhere.



The Nisqually and Skokomish Indian Agency is almost at the edge of the pretty town of Tacoma. Mr. Edwin Eells is agent. He has charge of five reservations, the Chehalis, Nisqually, Puyallup, Skokomish and Squakson. He was appointed agent for the Skokomish reservation June 1st, 1871, and remained there till September 1st, 1882. On October 1st, 1882, he took charge of the consolidated Nisqually, Skokomish and Tulalip agencies, with ten reservations under his care, the five above named, and the Tulalip, Lummi, Swinomish, Port Madison and Muckleshoot reserves, with headquarters at Tulalip. He continued there till July, 1883. The consolidated agency was then divided. Tulalip agency was taken off with the latter five reservations, and Mr. Eells came to his present station near Tacoma to manage the first five above named.

The Puyallup reserve has 18,060 acres of land, and about 560 Indians; Nisqually has 4,717 acres and 90 Indians; Chehalis 4,224 acres and 148 Indians; Squakson has 1,494 acres and 71 Indians; and Skokomish 4,986 acres and 227 Indians. These are the numbers actually living on the reserves, and they are not more than three-fifths of the whole number who belong here. The others are scattered about, living wherever they please, away from their reservations.

Treaties with most of these Indians went into

effect about 1860. For twenty years they had a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith and industrial teacher at each agency. Their last "war" was in 1854. Their lands were first surveyed in sub-divisions under Gen. Milroy, and a stir and ferment among the Indians soon resulted, and they wanted allotments of land in severalty. When President Hayes was in the Territory in 1880, Gen. Milroy and Mr. Eells called on him at Olympia, and urged that these Indians should have titles to their allotments, which they were then occupying, and in consequence of this application certificates were issued in 1880 to such occupants on the Skokomish and Puyallup reserves. Only certificates were given at first because the Indian Department thought additional legislation was needed to protect the Indian titles more effectually. But Secretary Teller said that patents could be issued under the treaties, and they were.

On the reserves of the Tulalip agency in 1882 and 1883, Mr. Eells found that the marks of the old surveys had been obliterated, and he obtained an appropriation of \$500 to re-mark the lines of the old survey. Then he sent on to Washington City descriptions of the allotments and the location of each, expecting to receive certificates of allotment, but Secretary Teller sent patents instead. Before Mr. Eells had completed the work he was removed from Tulalip agency, but, as a





result of the beginning which he made in the business there, patents were issued to the Tulalip, Swinomish and Lummi Indians. After he came to his present station, Mr. Eells obtained patents for the Nisqually, Squakson and Puyallup people; and while I was at Mr. Eells's office last autumn, he received a letter from the Indian office at Washington City informing him that forty-six patents for the Skokomish Indians had just been issued under the provisions of the treaty of January 26th, 1855, and had been mailed to his address. While I was on their reserve, many of the Skokomish men asked me eagerly if I had brought them any word from Washington City about their patents.

The old certificates of allotment were like this:—  
 "Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, March 22d, 1881. This is to certify that Andrew Johnson, alias Stu-ba-kain, a member of the Skokomish tribe of Indians, having expressed a desire to adopt habits of settled industry, and to receive an allotment of land for purposes of cultivation, as provided for in the seventh article of the treaty with said tribe concluded January 26th, 1855, is entitled to 120 acres of land, and that he has selected for such purposes the west  $\frac{1}{2}$  of south-east  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 10, and lot No. 2 of Section 15, in township 21, north of range 4, west of the Willamette meridian, in Washington Territory, containing together 111 acres.

"The said Andrew Johnson, alias Stu-ba-kain, is entitled to, and may take immediate possession of, said land, and occupy the same; and the United States guarantees such possession, and will hold the title thereto in trust for the exclusive use and benefit of himself and his heirs so long as such occupancy shall continue.

"This certificate is not assignable, except to the United States, or to other members of the tribe under such rules and regulations as may be hereafter prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, and the said Andrew Johnson, alias Stu-ba-kain, is expressly prohibited from assigning, or attempting to assign, the same, and from selling or transferring the said land, or disposing of the same, or any interest therein, to any person or persons whomsoever, except as above named, under penalty of an entire forfeiture thereof.

[Signed]

"THOMAS M. NICHOL,  
*Acting Commissioner.*"

No lands are now held by these Indians under these old certificates. The following is substantially a copy of one of the new patents—(there may be some inaccuracies):—

"The United States to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas, by the sixth article of the treaty concluded on the 26th of December, 1854, between Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of



Washington Territory, and the chiefs, headmen, delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, and other tribes and bands of Indians, it is provided that the President of the United States, at his discretion, may cause the whole or any portion of lands hereby reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and may assign the same to such families or individuals as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home, on the same terms, and subject to the same regulations, as are provided for in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable.

"And, whereas, there has been deposited in the General Land Office of the United States an order bearing date Jan. 20th, 1880, from the office of the Secretary of the Interior, accompanied by a return dated October 30th, 1884, from the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with a list approved by the President of the United States, October 23d, 1884, showing the names of members of the Puyallup band of Indians who have made selections of lands in accordance with the provisions of said treaties, in which lists the following tracts of land have been designated as the selection of John B. Sherlafor, the head of a family, consisting of himself, Lizzie, and baby, viz., lots numbered 6 and 7, of section

six, 70.48 acres, in township 20, north of range 4 east, and the north-east quarter of the north-east quarter of section 36, forty acres, in township 21, north of range 3, east of the Willamette meridian, Washington Territory, containing in the aggregate 110.48 acres.

"Now, know ye, that the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, and in accordance with the directions of the President of the United States, under the aforesaid sixth article of the treaty of the 16th of March, 1854, with the Omaha Indians, has given and granted, and by these presents does give and grant, unto the said John B. Sherlafor, as the head of the family aforesaid, and to his heirs, the tracts of land above described; but with the stipulation contained in the said sixth article of the treaty with the Omaha Indians, that the said tracts shall not be aliened, or leased for a longer term than two years, and shall be exempt from levy, sale, or forfeiture, which conditions shall continue in force until a State Constitution embracing such lands within its boundaries shall have been formed, and until the Legislature of the State shall remove these restrictions, and no State Legislature shall remove these restrictions without the consent of Congress.

"To have and to hold said tracts of land with the appurtenances thereunto belonging unto the said

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John B. Sherlafor, as the head of the family as aforesaid, and to his heirs forever, with the stipulation aforesaid. In testimony whereof, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this 30th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1886, and of the Independence of the United States, the 110th. By the President,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"By M. McKean, *Secretary*.

"S. W. Clark, *Recorder, General Land Office*."

The Government industrial school at the agency, near Tacoma, was intended for sixty pupils, but had eighty-five crowded in, about fifty boys and thirty girls. The boys learn some carpentry, painting and blacksmithing, but mostly farming; the girls, cooking, dairy work, sewing and housework. The industrial teacher, matron, seamstress and cook are white employes. The school has 640 acres of land, and 15 cows, which produce all the milk and butter needed for the school, and the school grows its own vegetables and grain, and cuts all the hay and wood required, as is done also by the two schools on the Skokomish and Chehalis reserves. These latter schools are each about sixty miles from the agency, but in different directions. They also are Government industrial

boarding schools; each has a farm, with the usual equipment of industrial teachers and other necessary employes, and the pupils work half of each day. It would be a great improvement to bring all these schools to the agency near Tacoma, saving much time and money now expended unnecessarily. They should be concentrated and consolidated and suitable buildings provided.

In 1885 only twenty-seven out of a total of eighty-four Indian boarding schools, and one day school, reported the value of supplies produced and used by themselves. The total value of such supplies was \$11,080. The Yakima school produced \$2,899.72; Puyallup \$1,141.75; Skokomish \$1,072.30; Chehalis \$763.30. These four schools produced more than one-half of all such supplies reported, and the three last were under Mr. Eells's care.

The missionary work of these reservations is under the charge of the American Missionary Association. The Rev. Myron Eells, Congregationalist missionary, has been twelve years on the Skokomish reserve. He has two churches, with congregations of about seventy-five each, and forty Indian church members, and a Sunday-school at each place. He preaches at Squakson and other places. The Rev. Matthew G. Mann, Presbyterian, is the missionary at the Nisqually agency; he is assisted by Peter Stanup. By recent orders



from Washington the jurisdiction of the agent is strictly limited to the territory of the reservations. He cannot pursue a wrong-doer or an escaped criminal beyond the lines, or re-capture an escaped school-boy off the reserve. An inconvenient and impracticable arrangement.

These Indians have never had Government rations. Their treaties gave them annuity goods, but none of the Indians west of the Rocky mountains have ever had rations. They have always been self-supporting. (This statement is given on Mr. Eells's authority.) These Puyallup people have good land. I saw thirty or forty Indian farms. They farm about as well as white people. Nearly all have framed houses, built by themselves, all with good floors. When Mr. Eells came to the reserve there were no framed houses, no civilized floors. They grow wheat and barley; their heaviest crops are hay, potatoes and oats. Corn does not ripen. All kinds of vegetables grow abundantly. Some Indian men sell from \$50 to \$75 worth of strawberries each year from their own lots. Apples, plums, pears, cherries, prunes and currants, and black, rasp and gooseberries are all fine and abundant. Three-fourths of these Indians speak English enough for business and convenient intercourse. They have two eight-horse power threshing machines, eight or ten mowing machines, seventy-five or one hundred wagons, all

paid for by Indians, and forty or fifty sewing-machines. They use clocks, knives and forks, etc.

Mr. Eells first had a board of judges, three to seven, on each reserve. They were supported by fines, so they fined the rich Indians and let the poor ones go scot free. This plan did not work well, and later the Department appointed, on agent's nomination, and the judges are paid \$31 to \$5 per month out of the fund for incidental expenses, and this plan is satisfactory. They hold court once or twice each month. On all the five reserves there are seven Indian policemen, paid eight dollars per month. There has been great improvement in family life and relations. The work of the missionaries begins, obviously, to reduce expenditures for criminal proceedings. All these Indians, except the Skokomish, are decreasing seriously in numbers. The Skokomish have held their own for fifteen years. There is much less licentiousness than formerly. These are among the most comfortable and prosperous of all the Indians whom I have seen. The agent is remarkably well qualified for his work, a most efficient and successful administrator. He should, by all means, be continued permanently in the service. He had a good clerk, capable and faithful, and other white people whom I saw on the reservation appeared to be men and women of high qualities and character.



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## THE KLAMATH AND MODOC COUNTRY.

I was travelling over the Crow reserve in Montana, when word was brought to me that "an Indian outbreak" was imminent in the Klamath and Modoc country, in Southern Oregon. The news was soon confirmed from several different sources, and I became convinced that some kind of disturbing influence was at work in the region named. But I did not believe there was to be an Indian outbreak. I obtained copies of recent Portland, Oregon, newspapers, from which I learned that there was general agitation and excitement in the country adjacent to the Klamath reserve; that public meetings were being held to protest against the removal of the troops from Fort Klamath, and that the Indian agent was reported to have said that he would leave the reservation if the soldiers were withdrawn. I hoped he had not said so. I did not believe there would be an outbreak, but I concluded that my duty as a newspaper correspondent might require me to be present in the disturbed district. If there was really to be "another Indian war," as people were saying, I wished to be near enough to see what was done, and to have a bit of news at first hand.

To reach the Klamath and Modoc country I went out to Portland, and from there took the Oregon and California Railroad to its end at Ashland, Oregon, 342 miles south of Portland,

and within a few miles of the California State line. The train reached Ashland at 4 o'clock in the morning, and the stage leaves that place for Linkville, 70 miles away, over the Cascade Range, in a few minutes afterward. I have not seen so rough riding anywhere else, though I have been over some pretty ragged country in the Adirondack region of Northern New York, in West Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and elsewhere. This Cascade Mountain stage coach carries the mails, and must go through on schedule time, 70 miles to Linkville in one day. So it "stopped not for stone" or anything else, but, with frequent changes, four powerful horses were kept at the top of their speed all day long. It was like being headed up in a hoghead, (with a bushel or two of dust shovelled in,) and rolled down a mountain side from morning till night. The journey would not be a safe one for any but those who are young and strong. A remarkably vigorous and athletic young man, who crossed a few days after I went over, was made ill by the journey, and was so bruised and sore that he could not sleep at night.

Linkville is on the Klamath River, between two of the Klamath lakes. Fort Klamath, which is within seven or eight miles of the agency, is 40 miles farther on. Linkville was in a condition of great excitement. Public meetings were being held, and speeches were made by the Representa-

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tive in Congress, and by other prominent gentlemen. The object of the meetings was to protest against the abandonment of Fort Klamath as a military post, the government having announced its intention to withdraw the garrison. The speeches were pretty sombre, and the newspapers of the region talked luridly of the awful results of leaving the people of the country exposed, without defense, to the attacks of the red-handed and blood-thirsty savages. In all these utterances, I noted two features: One was the fact that nobody said the Indians had really done anything or had intimated any intention of doing anything improper. There were frequent indirect admissions that white men were likely to be the aggressors. The other feature of the talk everywhere was the prominence of business considerations. The garrison furnished a market for supplies of various kinds, and was a benefit in pecuniary ways to all the adjacent country. The opposition to the withdrawal of the soldiers on this ground was, of course, entirely legitimate and reasonable; but the people of the region thought they made their case stronger by gruesome talk without end about the horrors of savage warfare, the midnight attack on the lonely cabin, the scalping-knife, the red flames curling through the crackling roof, and all the rest of it.

I learned in Linkville that a special agent of the

Department of the Interior had been ordered on from Washington to investigate the whole matter. So I said to myself, "there will be no decision regarding the withdrawal of the garrison until he comes and looks over the ground and reports. The Indian war will be postponed for a few weeks. I will look around among the settlers and the new towns and mining camps." So I struck out through the country around the Klamath reserve, with the cattle-men, freighters, mining prospectors, and immigrants. It is a rough country, much of it, with rough travel, rough eating, etc. It was growing cold, with much snow on the mountains, but the air was deliciously pure and exhilarating, and I enjoyed camping-out when I had plenty of blankets; but some families of immigrants, who were caught in snow-storms when crossing the mountains, suffered intensely, having no food for themselves or their horses for several days.

I met people from all parts of our country, and from other countries. There were some old men who had crossed the plains in '54, and have been always "on the move" since then, traversing nearly every part of the vast mountain regions from Southern California to the Kootenai country and the Similkameen River. Now they had "heard tell" of some new place, "the best country yit." Others were hurrying out of the



region, going north, south, east and west, "anywhere to git out, 'cause there's goin' to be an Indian war." Hundreds of settlers left the country on account of this apprehension.

All these people were very well-behaved while I was with them, although various "rough doins'" were reported as having "been a goin' on" just before, and in some neighborhoods just after, my visit, and the people often showed that they distrusted and feared each other. I slept one night in the loft of a shanty in a mountain mining camp and freighter's station. A California mining contractor, "out a prospectin'" went up stairs with me at bed-time. There were two rooms. The miner chose the one nearest the stairway. The only entrance to my room was through his. He locked the outer door of his room, but was disturbed at finding that there was no fastening to the door leading to my room. I laughingly told him I would exchange rooms, but he said he should be "no better off," he "would be in there, and couldn't git out." As he had two huge navy revolvers and a piratical-looking knife, ground sharp at both edges toward the point, I thought he was safe enough. I laughed again, and said I was going to sleep, that I was not afraid of him. But, in the phrase of the country, he "didn't want to take no chances," and I saw that he was disposed to watchfulness. I

thought we both needed a good night's sleep, so I drew him into talk. Before eleven o'clock he was urging me to come and see him after he "got located;" to come into his camp any time, day or night, and take the best he had. He said it was like meeting an old friend, and assured me that he and all his friends would stand by me if I was ever in their country and needed anything. I slept till dawn, and when we parted at sunrise my comrade said if I was not sure I had enough money to carry me through to my supplies he could let me have what I needed, "and I tell you you'll be mighty welcome to it." I thanked him, and told him I was "all right," and the next moment we plunged into two different clouds of alkaline dust, as the stage-drivers cracked their whips, and the stages leaped and reeled away on their different roads from the door of the shanty. My new-found friend said he might go on to "the Okanagon country." He had a considerable sum of money with him, and this made him apprehensive, but I thought it would have been wiser to conceal his anxiety.

The cattle-men and the freighters said there would have to be "a little Indian war." The grass outside was "all a gittin' used up, and the Indians has plenty that they don't make no use of. The cattle *will* drift on to the reserve. The Indians'll object, but a white man aint a goin' to



take no impudence from an Indian." They said if the soldiers were taken away the cattle-men would attend to matters themselves, and "would soon fix the Indians."

I think that in the minds of many men in that region there is a definite purpose to "crowd" the Indians more and more until a blow is struck by some Indian in self-defense. Then war will exist by act of the Indians (as our Government said of Mexico in 1845); there will be a short struggle, a few Indians will be shot, and the United States soldiers will come in and sweep the rest of the tribe off the reservation. They will be sent "to Florida, or some place else where white men do not want the land," wherever that may be. I saw a great deal of the country and the people around the Klamath reserve, and I thought, from all the indications, there might, very likely, be trouble there next spring or summer. But as yet I had seen none of the Indians themselves. I had only been studying the psychology of the new communities surrounding the Indian country.

I crossed the reservation to the agency. The special agent from Washington had not arrived. I found that a state of trepidation and alarm really existed at the agency, and that the agent had said, as the newspapers affirmed, that he should not feel safe if the soldiers were withdrawn, and that he should at once resign. As

my observations in the adjacent country had convinced me that the post should be maintained, the agent and his people were greatly pleased, and urged me to remain and meet the special agent.

While we waited for his coming, I travelled over the reservation, visiting the Indians at their homes, and meeting them in throngs on Sundays at church. I talked with all the leading men of the tribe. Most of them can speak English. These Klamaths and Modocs are much farther advanced in civilization than any other Indians I have seen, (except, perhaps, a few of the Puget Sound people,) and in natural character and ability are decidedly the foremost Indians I have known. In moral qualities and worth many of them are the peers of white men anywhere; brave, frank, manly, public-spirited and honorable. They do not need pity. They are worthy of respect and of a fair chance and start in life. If they can have that, if they are dealt with honestly, they will take care of themselves without troubling anybody. But they are not qualified to meet at once, unshielded, the forces of our fierce, intense and complex civilization. They are lacking in sharpness of fang and length of claw. They have not enough of the beast or the savage in them to make them successful in the struggle for existence with the civilized white men of our country. They are too honest and conscientious,





and have too high a moral endowment and development, for a prosperous life in the environment that awaits them in contact with our civilization, and they will probably find that "the Indian's country" is mostly under ground.

Many of these Indians live in good framed houses. Some of them which I was in had five or six rooms on the first floor. I was entertained in the homes of these people with a dignified, intelligent and joyous hospitality, which gave me a home-sick feeling when I turned again to my long journey toward the East. The leading men came together everywhere to talk with me, and they manifested a thorough and comprehensive intelligence regarding the situation of their people, its dangers and requirements, and a remarkable moderation in all their utterances, though they used the utmost frankness in their discussions.

I visited Fort Klamath, and had very full conversations with the courteous officer in command of that post. I found that he thoroughly comprehended the condition of the surrounding country, and the various elements of peril which had to be recognized and duly estimated in order to reach a proper decision of the question of the abandonment of the fort. While he showed a proper soldierly deference to the judgment of his superiors, it was plain that he thought the withdrawal of the

garrison would be an injudicious proceeding, and that it would probably be followed by mischievous results.

When the Special Agent of the Department of the Interior arrived, he proved to be Mr. William Parsons, whom I remembered as a New England journalist, formerly editor, I believe, of the *New Haven Register*. I had lost trace of him, and was not aware that he had entered the service of the Government as a special agent connected with Indian affairs. He at once united with the agent in charge of the reservation, Prof. Emery, in requesting me to remain at the agency during the pending investigation of the affairs of the region. I accompanied these officers in their visits to Fort Klamath, and heard their repeated conversations with the officer in command. I went with them in their travels over the reservation, and listened to their conferences with the business men of the adjacent country. The result in regard to military matters was, that the special agent decided that it was not, at that time, expedient to abandon Fort Klamath; and while the troops, then at the post were ordered to Fort Bidwell, other soldiers were brought down from Vancouver to take their places. (I saw the men and trains on their way to Fort Bidwell.) It was a wise and necessary decision. The presence of the soldiers in that region is indispensable. But it is not on

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+ account of any disposition to turbulence or lawlessness on the part of the Indians. No country town in New England, or Quaker community in Pennsylvania, is less inclined to violence or disorder than the Indians of the Klamath reserve. The presence of the soldiers is required because of the determined aggression of the white men of the region upon the rights and lands of the Indians. It is for this reason alone that the expense of maintaining a garrison there is incurred.

x I visited the Sycan country, where collisions had already occurred, and where most serious results were barely averted by the moderation of the Indians and the good sense of some of the officers of the reservation. A large region here, and a considerable proportion of the best grazing land of the Klamath reserve, is claimed by the cattle-men under the Swamp-land laws of the State of Oregon. There is a question of title and jurisdiction, which will probably have to be decided by the courts. It is not difficult to forecast the result. The Indians have no money and no friends; they will probably "get left" in nearly all cases when white men set up a claim to Indian lands.

x While the investigation of military matters in the Klamath region was pending, and after it was concluded, I made a thorough examination of the internal affairs and conditions of the reservation.

The capabilities of the soil for agriculture are barely sufficient to supply a reason and occasion for the anchorage of each Indian family to a particular spot, so as to secure a basis and opportunity for the development of the sentiments, associations, and civilizing influences of home life. No considerable number of inhabitants can ever obtain support here by the cultivation of the ground. It is a good grazing country, well-watered, and in parts sheltered and favorable for the care of stock during the winter. But there should be no land here for white men. I looked into the matter very thoroughly. Very few, if any, white men have ever seen so much of this reservation; and I wish here to place on record my deliberate judgment that there is no more land on the Klamath reserve than these Indians need for themselves and their children, to give them reasonable means for self-support by stock-raising. If any part of this reservation is taken from the Indians, and opened to settlement by white men, it can be accomplished only by the use of unworthy influences and discreditable methods. If the consent of the Indians to the cession of any considerable portion of the reserve is obtained, it is almost certain that it will be procured by misrepresentation, deception and fraud.

x There are two large Government industrial boarding schools on this reservation, one at the

[REDACTED]

agency, the other at Yainax, forty miles away. The one at the agency had been, until a year ago, for a long time under inefficient management. Its contiguity to the agency is unfavorable to the necessary freedom, responsibility, and efficiency of the superintendents and teachers. The former history and traditions of the school are in every respect unwholesome. It should be removed to Modoc Point, twelve or fourteen miles south of its present location, and the superintendent's place should be invested with its legitimate responsibilities. All the boys over twelve years of age who have attended hitherto should be left out in the reorganization of the school, and their places should be taken by younger children of both sexes.

Mrs. Florence I. Kilgour, at the time of my visit matron of this boarding school, since then promoted (in accordance with the recommendation of the special agent of the Department of the Interior) to be the first assistant teacher, is one of the most capable and efficient persons among all whom I met in the whole course of my observations. She has resources and endowments for almost any place or work which is open to a woman in the Indian service. Mr. Kilgour, the superintendent, made some mistakes at first, notably that of attempting to discipline and punish large Indian boys and young men without first

making sure that he had adequate resources or support; but he has the best counsellor a man can have, and if he has a fair opportunity will, I believe, do good work. The Kilgours are from Loudon county, Virginia. They were appointed to places in the Government school at Klamath agency, by the Indian Office at Washington, under the present Administration, which should have full credit for having in this case made an admirable selection. If Mr. and Mrs. Kilgour could have chosen their own subordinates and assistants they could at once have begun to reconstruct and improve the school. But when I saw them they were surrounded by incapable persons, and had no efficient seconding whatever.

The agent here has long been a minister, and was for some years a professor in the State Agricultural College at Corvallis. The work of an Indian agent is entirely unsuited to his powers, qualities, and training, and all its conditions and associations are hampering, irritating, and ungenial. There is nothing whatever to encourage his continuing in it.

I passed several days at the Government industrial boarding school for Indians at Yainax sub-agency, on the Klamath reserve, forty miles from Klamath agency, examining it in all its departments, critically and thoroughly. It has been for more than four years under the charge of Mr. William T. Leeke.



He was formerly for two years clerk at Klamath agency, and before that was for eight years a professor in Ashland College, at Ashland, Oregon, and for some time President of the College. He is an experienced and successful educator. His first assistant is an eminently successful teacher, especially in her natural power of vital control and ascendancy over her Indian young people. The other assistants and subordinates appeared to be earnest and capable young persons, with loyal and thorough devotion to Mr. Lecke's plans and aims.

I inspected the boarding house and school-rooms, examined the farming land, gardens, and buildings of all kinds belonging to the school, and observed carefully the quality of the work done, and its effect, as this was shown in the character, manners and behavior of the boys and girls, young men and women. I saw the pupils in their Sunday-school and religious meetings, at their meals, at study and at work. I am obliged to regard this as the best Indian Government school that I saw on any reservation. The pupils appeared, many of them, to have reached a higher degree of development of personal qualities, to be more fully formed, intellectually, morally, and socially, than any other Indian young people that I have seen in a Government school. The pupils and the teachers recalled to my mind the delightful impressions received at St. John's school (Mrs.

Kinney's), at Cheyenne River agency, and at Miss Howe's school, at Springfield, Dakota.

At the meeting of the pupils and teachers for prayer and religious conversation nearly all took part. It was all very simple, sensible, and wholesome, and the type of religion taught and practiced in the great household of nearly 100 persons appeared to be practical, fervent and sincere. It is Methodist in form and spirit, without a trace of sectarian exclusiveness. The industrial training is of a superior kind, and the girls are farther advanced in their ability for housework, cooking, and kitchen management than any other Indian girls I have seen, unless I except Mrs. Kinney's best young women.

These Yainax girls are more capable, intelligent, and faithfully efficient in their work than the average of servants in New England towns. There is a symmetry in the character of the instructors at Yainax, and of their work and its results in the development of their pupils, which I have not seen equalled in any other Government school. The school appeared to me to deserve complete approval, without deduction or reserve of any kind, and I made a more thorough examination of it, probably, than has ever been made by any other visitor.

Judging from what I have seen in other cases, I suppose it is possible that there is somewhere in



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Tennessee or Mississippi a good-hearted, well-intentioned young fellow, entirely without experience or qualification of any kind, who, by some of the "mutations of politics," may come to be thought of, by the powers that be, as the proper person to be rewarded with the place of superintendent and principal of this school. If I could meet this amiable young man, I would tell him candidly that this is not the place for him, and would advise him to apply for a professorship in one of the principal colleges of the country, a post which he would be as competent to fill as this at Yainax, and in which his failure would be no more inevitable, and far less disastrous in its results. There is but one thing that would justify the removal of Mr. Leeke from his place at the head of this school. That would be his selection, at some future time, for the highest place connected with the Indian educational work of the country. That is a place which, by his natural qualities, varied training, and long experience, he would be well qualified to fill.

These Klamath and Modoc and Pitt River Indians are much more steadfastly industrious, under unfavorable conditions, than average white men in any part of our country. They greatly need repair-shops for the repair of the wood and iron work of their wagons, etc., at Yainax. Many of them have to go forty or even fifty miles to the

repair-shops at Klamath agency, and the mechanics there are fully occupied with repairs for the 600 Indians on that end of the reserve. Consequently, it is almost impossible for the 400 Indians of the Yainax sub-agency to obtain repairs for their wagons, and they are thus often disabled for work they are anxious to perform. They work hard even for wages so low as to afford a bare subsistence, and when the sub-agent has a little work for them twice as many present themselves as can be employed.

Mr. Leeke has somehow carried some of his boys so far along by means of the instruction and practice in the school-shops that they can do very fair repairing in the iron and wood work of wagons; but, alas, they have no material, and no incidental or other fund with which to obtain it. If Mr. Leeke could have \$500 a year for two years for this purpose—the purchase of material for the school-shops—at his discretion, his Indian boys could do the repairing for the 400 Indians of this sub-agency. If they lived along the Missouri River, where Eastern people could know about them, and see them sometimes, I think I could get help for them. But I fear the needs of Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains seem to our Eastern people unreal and too far away. Yet these Klamaths and Modocs and Pitt Rivers are in our country. (Let

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us learn to call them our countrymen.) I cannot quite give them up, and shall not.

I found at Yainax a native Indian preacher, Jesse Kirk, a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, with a good and helpful wife and some little children, working without salary or assistance of any kind, for the moral and religious improvement of his people. He has a great thirst for knowledge, but has no books, not even a Bible, only some torn fragments of an old one. Somebody ought to send a Bible, with good large print, and other books, with a little money, for this man, to Prof. William T. Leeke, Bly, Klamath county, Oregon. Mark letters and all mail matter "For Yainax."

After the Special Agent of the Department of the Interior had looked into matters bearing upon the question of the abandonment of Fort Klamath, he had to conduct a special investigation of the internal affairs and administration of the Klamath agency. The agent had made charges of inefficiency and insubordination, etc., against the superintendent and matron of the Government boarding school at the agency. They thought the agent had not properly supported them in their work in the school, and an unhappy and unwholesome state of affairs had been developed. By invitation of the officer conducting the investiga-

tion, and of all the people concerned, I was present during the whole course of it. Mr. Parsons administered the oath, and examined the witnesses. Everybody testified in his own behalf, and had the right of cross-examination. The presiding officer appeared to be thoroughly impartial, and careful alike of the interests and rights of all. He displayed remarkable patience, tact, and good judgment in what was often a difficult position. It was very interesting to an observer, but it was sad to see the *inevitableness* of much of the misunderstanding and disagreement. There were some exciting passages. One afternoon, a melodramatic young woman produced a revolver, which she had very improperly brought into court, and threatened to shoot another young woman who was a witness on the other side. This was too much for the long-suffering judge, and he summarily suppressed the manifestation of a disposition to disorder and violence. Various changes have been made at the agency in consequence of the recommendations of the Special Agent conducting this investigation. They seem to me to have been required by the circumstances of the case, and by the interests of the school and other departments of the Government service. Additional changes in the same direction, providing for a pretty thorough reorganization in the administration of affairs at the agency, have, in my judgment, become

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necessary. Mr. Parsons appeared to be much above the average of Government officers of any class, a man of varied powers and acquirements, positive, but deliberate, patient and sympathetic, open to the effect of testimony, and possessed of a natural and cultivated love of justice.

A few months before the time of my visit to the Klamath reserve an Indian had been killed by a cattle-man in the region adjoining the reservation. According to all the testimony, that of white men, the two quarrelled a little and then clinched, but the Indian broke away and ran to his pony, which was standing near. He sprang on it and rode rapidly away. But as the Indian started off the white man began firing at him with a revolver. Several shots missed, but finally one struck the Indian in the neck, and he fell to the ground and died in a few minutes. The murderer was arrested, and, after examination, admitted to bail in the sum of \$6,000 and set at liberty. The judge heard the testimony and accepted the bail, and then stepped up to his own bar and drank with the murderer, with the sentiment, "Here's hoping you will come out all right." When I was there, the judge himself was under indictment for selling liquor illegally. The people of the region said that within a few months seven men had been shot in this bar-room. In each instance the lights were suddenly extinguished

and the shooting done in the dark. It was said that when people expressed indignation on account of the brutal atrocity of the killing, the sheriff kindly advised the murderers that it might be best for them to be away for awhile, until public feeling had cooled down, and that they accordingly withdrew to some other neighborhood. I spent several evenings in this bar-room, but did not see any shooting.

Nobody in that region expects that the cattle-man who killed the Indian will be punished for his crime. When I was there he was riding about his ranges heavily armed, and threatening to kill other Indians, his neighbors said. His men all refused to ride with him, being apprehensive that he would be fired on by some of the friends of the murdered Indian. These incidents will give my readers some idea of the conditions surrounding peaceable and well-behaved Indians in that part of the country, and of their prospects for protection in the enjoyment of their property and their lives.

I have recent advices from that region to the effect that the impression prevails at Fort Klamath that the post will be "discontinued at the end of the present fiscal year." If this is true, it would be interesting to learn precisely what are the influences which are used so persistently to effect the removal of the last remaining U. S.



soldiers from this region. There has been no change in the essential conditions of the problem since last autumn, and a practical estimate of all the circumstances and interests involved still leads to the conclusion that the presence of an efficient garrison at Fort Klamath is a necessity, not on account of any disposition to turbulence on the part of the Indians, but by reason of the manifest determination of unscrupulous white men to oppress and embroil the Indians, and thus bring about a state of things which will enable the cattle-men to possess themselves of the Indian lands. The people there all say that the worst aggressors upon the rights of the Indians in that region are Englishmen, and I heard everywhere of a Lord Something or other as the most brutal and reckless of them all. Perhaps a little inquiry as to the rights of English lords, and of Englishmen in general, on our American Indian reservations, might be in order about this time.

#### THE BEEF ISSUE.

INDIAN AGENCY, GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION,  
July 1st, 1886.

"It is a beautiful morning; let us go out and kill something." "Oh, it's going to be a lovely day for the beef issue. I'm so glad," said a young lady at the breakfast table. Every one is animated and expectant. For several days visitors at the

agency, besides the usual hospitable welcome, have been greeted with the exclamation: "You are just in time; you must stay to the beef issue." All through the day before and far into the moonlit night long processions of Indian wagons have been coming across the hills, and their occupants have gone into camp on the high slopes all around. At an early hour of the morning the whole landscape is full of life and movement. The Indians are decked out in their gayest attire, and some of their costumes are pictorial enough. Most of them still wear the native dress, but some have on a combination of Indian and civilized garb, which is uglier than either alone. Nearly all are bareheaded, and their long black hair, parted in the middle, falls back over their shoulders. Their faces are painted in various bright colors and in all kinds of grotesque figures. The Sioux men are very fond of wearing tails, and when on foot like to have a strip of bright-colored cloth dangling at their heels, or dragging along on the ground behind them. They nearly all wear blankets, which at this time of the year are, most of them, sheets of dirty, gray-looking muslin or sheeting. These they wrap closely around them, often covering the head and face, all but the eyes.

As we look about us after breakfast we see the Indian women and girls harnessing their horses.





Carriages are brought to the door for guests, and we are soon all on our way to the Government corral. Everybody is going; residents about the agency, young ladies who are teaching in the schools in the distant camps, and others who are visitors from Eastern cities. All are in high spirits. Acquaintances exchange greetings. Indian wagons filled with women and children are moving over the plain from all directions. There are hundreds of young Indian men and women on horseback. They go curveting and racing about the plain. The Indians never look well on horseback, but they manage to stay on. Their ponies are slight and ugly-looking, but tough and enduring. They are the most useful and respectable denizens of the Indian country, and are about the only creatures here who earn their rations. The girls sit astride, the same as the men. Some of the belles are in costly apparel. I count more than fifty elk teeth on a large cape worn by a rare and radiant brown maiden. As each elk has just two teeth, a whole herd must have been slaughtered to furnish the bravery of her attire. She reminds me of New York Fifth avenue belles with dead birds on their heads, but the elks were really killed for food.

The corral is a large stockade in the middle of a plain, which slopes upward to low hills all around. Here are many hundreds of cattle awaiting slaughter to furnish rations for the noble

red men, their wives and children, "the wards of the nation." There are about two thousand Indians present. A large proportion of the men are armed with carbines or improved rifles. There is an army officer here from the nearest fort, to represent the Government on the occasion. A brass band has come out from some railroad town to compliment the ladies and frighten the already distracted cattle with the blare of their music. The entertainment opens with a popular air. The ladies applaud delicately, and the musicians bow their acknowledgments. Mounted cowboys enter the corral, spur their horses among the cattle, and drive groups of them, with shouts, yells and blows, toward the chute leading to the scales, where they are weighed, a dozen at a time. After leaving the scales, in a narrow part of the chute, each animal is branded with a hot iron, and passes on into another division or apartment of the corral. This first brand shows that the animal has been received from the contractor. After all have passed through this experience they are again driven into the chute, with the same accompaniment of yells and blows, and receive another brand. This is to identify the hide after it has been taken off.

All this is but overture and prelude, but the curtain will soon rise and the play begin. Ladies and visitors are assigned the best points of view for the coming spectacle. The Indian wagons



with the women and children, and the dusky equestriennes, press close together around the walls of the corral. The Indian horsemen are drawn up in two long lines, forming a lane from the gate of egress, far out on the plain. Their carbines gleam in the sunlight. I turn and note the sweetness of the June morning, the beauty of the circling hills, the flag of our country floating above the Government buildings, and in the momentary hush, the gushing song of a meadow lark, far off across the grass. Hundreds of Indian dogs troop about, hungry, watchful and expectant. A tall Indian, with a voice like that of an exhorter at an Arkansas camp meeting, climbs up to the top of the gate, and shouts the names of the men who are to receive the cattle, as, one after another, they are released to their doom. The gate opens, and a gigantic steer leaps out, frightened and wild-eyed. He trots uncertainly down the lane of horsemen. The dogs fly at him, and he sets off in a gallop. Two Indians gallop after him, and everybody looks that way. But by this time another is out, and soon half a dozen are racing away in different directions, each closely followed by two or three mounted Indians. Soon a shot is heard, and then another, and the ladies strain their eyes to see, but the steer gallops on. The ladies look a little disappointed. "They are going out of sight. Is this all it's going to be?"

But wait. More shots, and more; and now they come faster, like the ominous, irregular but increasing skirmish firing before a battle. Five or six of the cattle go off together, with a dozen men pressing behind and at the side of the fleeing group. A horseman fires, and a steer drops, so suddenly, head first, that he turns a complete somerset, and the pony just behind, unable to stop, repeats the movement, tumbling over the prostrate beast, and dismounts his rider. Some of the cattle are, at first, only slightly wounded, others are crippled so that they cannot run, but several shots are required to dispatch them. Now and then one turns in fury upon his pursuers, and the ponies swerve aside to avoid his charge. The ladies turn quickly from side to side, to note the most interesting occurrences. The dying animals lie all about the plain. Some struggle long, getting up and falling again, and the Indians wait warily, till it seems safe to approach, for a mortally wounded beast will sometimes make a plunge at his tormentor.

Now a hunted brute dashes madly among the crowd around the corral, the horses start and rear and the brown maidens scramble hastily on to the wagons. A large cow, shot through and through, comes staggering up to the very walls of "the grand stand." The Indians try to drive her away, but she no longer heeds their yells and blows.

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She reels, braces herself, turns her great beseeching eyes up to the women above her and falls at their very feet. The Indian butcher appears, throws off his leggings, and bestrides her with naked brown legs and thighs. He opens her throat with a short knife and cuts out the tongue. He pierces no artery or large vein, and the poor, tongueless beast dies slowly. She lifts up her head, stares around again, and tosses about wearily in mute agony. The half-naked slaughterer goes on with his work, and the cow is partly skinned some time before she dies. It is all so near that the ladies have an excellent opportunity to see every step of the process.

As the carcasses all about the plain are opened the work of the Indian women begins. They attend to the "fifth quarter" of the beef, the entrails. They remind me of the witches in "Macbeth." As we drive out homeward, threading our way between the bloody groups around the flayed and dismembered beasts, many Indians are already beginning their feast. They are seated on the ground, eating the raw, blood-hot liver. Our host stops and buys a piece of liver from an Indian for our next morning's breakfast. As we go on again, a young lady to whom I had been introduced at the grand stand asks me: "How did you enjoy the beef issue?" The next day, at the great Government boarding school, the principal

told us that his boys and girls had behaved so well all through the term that he meant to take them out in a body to see the next beef issue as a reward for their good conduct. It is a brutal and brutalizing spectacle.

*To the President and Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN:—The accompanying volume is hereby respectfully submitted to you as my report of the journey which it describes. Hoping that it may receive your approval, and thanking you for all your courtesy and kindness, I am,

Very respectfully and truly,

Your obedient servant,

J. B. HARRISON.

*Philadelphia, March, 1887.*

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## PART SECOND.

### REFLECTIONS.

The preceding portion of this book describes what I observed during my tour of the Indian reservations. This concluding part tells what was suggested to my mind by what I saw. I have not undertaken to express the views or opinions of the Indian Rights Association, or anybody's views or opinions but my own. Of course, no person or society is in any manner or degree committed to the support of the ideas or judgments embodied here. I have been so long accustomed to work with no other end in view than the thorough observation, accurate reporting and full discussion of facts, that it would be impossible for me to do anything useful with any other aim. I shall, of course, be pleased if the book stimulates and widens the discussion of the general subject. But at any rate, this is what, at present, I have to say.

#### MISSIONARIES AND THEIR WORK.

The missionary work of the different churches and religious organizations on the Indian reservations which I visited, although varying consider-

ably in quality and value in different places, and in the hands of different men, is all, or nearly all of it good, and in general, or as a whole, it is of great importance as a means for the improvement and civilization of the Indians. The work of missionaries and missionary teachers among the Indians necessarily involves much greater trials, hardship and isolation than Eastern people can understand or appreciate. With all possible facilities and encouragement it would still be a most toilsome, lonely and depressing life for all persons of seriousness and sensibility. So far as I have been able to observe, none of the people engaged in such work have adequate means or instruments for it, or adequate support in any way. In many cases their efforts are distressingly hampered and limited, the value of their work greatly reduced, and, in time, their health seriously impaired, by the difficulties and anxieties of their situation, produced chiefly by the lack of sufficient pecuniary means and support. It is also true that character itself may in some degree be sacrificed in this work, and that the pressure of such conditions may at last develop undesirable traits. But if the sweetest and noblest men sometimes seem warped or narrow, it is not a reproach to them, but to those who determine the conditions under which they must live and work. In some cases the theory that a man can do better



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work if he is half starved in every way seems to have been distinctly accepted and acted upon.

I have not thought it worth while to dwell upon the fact that more or less of worldly or selfish feeling and methods may sometimes be discerned in the management of religious enterprises in the Indian country. It seems to me well to recognize the constant facts of human nature. It is not worth while to expect to find superhuman qualities in missionaries or the managers of missionary work. There is naturally sometimes a degree of antagonism of feeling between the representatives of different religious organizations and beliefs, especially between Catholic and Protestant workers. Something of this is inevitable. Of course, when it is carried so far as to be plainly destructive of the ends for which all the churches are working, sectarian feeling becomes a proper subject of criticism. But I found far less of such excess and bigotry than we might naturally look for under such conditions, and for the objects of this book I prefer to deal with this topic of sectarian differences only in a general way. My theory of the whole subject is, simply, that all the churches are doing good, that there is work enough for all of them, and far more required than all of them can do. I have estimated the work of all in exactly the same way, by its results, and have not entered

at all into the question of the superiority of any system of belief. I am accustomed to feel equal respect for good work, by whomsoever wrought, and equal regard and comradeship for true and soldierly men everywhere. I think that a thorough examination of the work of all the different religious bodies in the Indian country would be highly interesting and instructive, if conducted in the broadly appreciative and catholic spirit which I have here indicated, and I freely avow that I should like to make such a study of the whole subject.

The theory of all the missionary work, in both the churches and schools, is that nothing but Christianity can elevate the Indians; that there is no hope for them in either education or civilization, except as these are employed as instruments of the Gospel of Christ. A student of civilization, in examining the present condition of the Indians, is obliged to take note of these religious influences and activities, as they constitute one of the principal and most effective forces now at work among the red people. The belief of the missionaries is simply that, in his natural, unconverted condition, the Indian has a fatally wrong and false way of looking at things, a fatally false philosophy of life, for which there is no remedy but to be made over again by divine influences, renewed and re-



generated inwardly, and throughout his entire moral and spiritual nature. To understand their theory and method, we must go back to the New Testament, and to the time when the transcendent intellectual and emotional forces, which have made up the great world movement and history of Christianity, were being born out of the hearts of a few men and women. In its original and essential character, Christianity includes a combination of personal and social forces which the world has not yet seen equalled. The missionaries here have kept what we have lost at the East, something of the transforming and revolutionary power of the Christian religion in the earlier stages of its history. They have also retained a type of religious character and feeling, fraternal, sincere and undisdainful, which has long been extinct in the modern or cultivated world. My last acquaintance with it was among Presbyterians and Methodists in Indiana thirty years and more ago, and among some of the Oberlin people in the days of the anti-slavery struggle. It is very interesting to note the survival, here among the missionaries, of various things which have become extinct elsewhere. Whatever may be said, for or against any view or form of religion, here is a great concrete fact, an element in society and history, the work of the missionaries among the Indians, wrought with this instrument, the preaching of the gospel of Christ.

It has transformed and purified hundreds of lives, and is still a potent social, educational and practical force, working in conjunction with other influences, for the improvement of great numbers of Indians. The Dakota mission dates from 1834, when the brothers Pond built their cabin on the shore of Lake Calhoun, on ground now adjoining the city of Minneapolis. The same year Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, M.D., came out to Fort Snelling, and the next year to Lac qui Parle. Dr. Riggs joined him there in 1837. The two latter afterward reduced the Dakota language to a literary form, and translated the Bible into this Indian tongue, publishing also a Dakota grammar and dictionary. These two men lived to old age in their chosen missionary field, and their children are following in their footsteps. Dr. Riggs' "Mary and I," the record of forty years among the Sioux, is one of the most interesting and valuable accounts of missionary work and experience I have ever read. It is a shame that it is out of print. It would do more to stimulate missionary feeling of a sensible and practical kind than any other modern book with which I am acquainted. The missionaries often make too much of the Dakota language, and do not always crowd the knowledge of English upon their people so earnestly as would be best for their interests. It is but a poor civilization which is attainable for anybody

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#### INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

in Dakota. The limitation or defect of the Church is in the fact that her d teachers do not usually adequately l or value the other great world forces igion, the fateful power of the State to at is ripe for its end, and to create new race conditions. It would never be safe interests and destinies of mankind, or of f it, wholly in the keeping and power rch. The great religious awakening or which is still in progress among the ans had its origin in the shock and of defeat and punishment which smote ed them after their outbreak in Min- 862. The missionaries had preached r many years with little visible effect. thirty-eight Indians were taken from at Mankato, and were hanged by the single rope, hundreds of others in the that they stood in the shadow of doom. ted to be hanged at once, and repented day of judgment had dawned. The of heathenism was broken by the arm ; justice and law. The work of law is d to create the new conditions under e the Indians can make continuous nt in civilization.

#### INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

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I know of no man who has accomplished more for the civilization of the Indians of Dakota, or for the advancement of all improving and civilizing influences in the country adjacent to the reservations, than Bishop Hare, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Some religious workers on the frontier are successful by means of mere rude strength or physical vigor. They influence men all the more because of the coarseness of taste and fibre which is common to them and to many of the people among whom they live. But here is a man made up of all gentle and pure qualities; at home in "the still air of delightful studies;" who would be a leader among the best anywhere; who unites to a soldier's fearlessness and invincible devotion a spirituality so lofty and tender that one shrinks from characterizing it while he is still in the flesh, who is laying the foundations of Christian civilization on broad and far-reaching lines in a region large enough to be a mighty empire. He long ago saw the need and opportunity of the time, and answered to its call. I am not a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is only as a student of civilization that I have written of any of the missionary enterprises among the Indians. But this man ought to have whatever he wants of means for his work, with remembrance and honor from all good men.

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No matter what laws may be enacted affecting the condition and interests of the Indians, there will still, for a long time, be the same or increasing need for religious and philanthropic effort in behalf of these people. I think that all that we can rightly attempt to do for them, by the use of the power and machinery of the Government, is to prepare them as fully as possible for self-supporting industry, and for equal citizenship with the other people of our country, and then invest them with its rights and responsibilities. But at best the period and process of transition to the new order of things is sure to be highly perilous for the Indians ; for many of them ruinous and destructive ; and they should, in common justice and humanity, be aided and protected as far as this is possible during this time of transition. But it would be far better not to put this matter on the ground of humanity to the Indians, but of our own interests. If the Indians are not improved and enabled to become self-supporting, they will inevitably seriously increase the pauperism, and the vicious and evil tendencies of all kinds, in vast communities in the Western portion of our country. What we do for the Indians we should do with a view to self-preservation, and not for the sake of the Indians especially, but for the welfare of our country and all its people.

## EDUCATION FOR INDIANS.

There is, as yet, no coherent or comprehensive system or plan for the education of the Indians under Government supervision. It does not appear, indeed, that anybody has thought of the necessity of such a system. The existing arrangements, machinery and methods are highly inorganic, incoherent and inefficient. They involve vast waste of force, and do not include any practical provision for development or improvement which is not negated and neutralized by some other feature. There is not anywhere a responsible head or director of the business of Indian education under Government management. There is no well-defined and far-reaching plan for the education of Indians, and there has not yet been such observation of their character, environment and needs by any considerable number of persons, as is indispensable for the development of such a plan.

It is possible that a worse system might be devised than the existing one, of the direct appointment of teachers and school employes by the authorities at Washington, but I am not able to imagine anything more at war with all practical considerations, or more opposed to the results of the general experience of mankind in civilized life. Either the Indian agent on each reservation should be responsible for the schools and their





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work and its results on his reservation,—in which case he should select the teachers and subordinates of every degree,—or he should *not* be responsible, and the schools should be divorced as far as may be from the general administration and business of the agency, and a responsible bonded superintendent or principal should control the schools of each reservation, and should select and appoint all his own subordinates. I have seen no instance in which the present method—the appointment of teachers and school employes by the Indian Office at Washington has “worked well,” and I have no reason to believe that such an instance exists. A few good teachers have been sent out, but they are always hampered by association with incompetents in the same school.

Several persons, who have had no acquaintance with each other, are brought together from different parts of the country, and are expected to work together so as to make of their collective performance an organic, vital and harmonious administration of a great school. Such a result is usually impossible. Either the agent or the principal of the school should select all subordinate employes, and should be held responsible for their work.

The officers who administer the present anomalous system are not to blame for its defects unless they are responsible for the adoption of the system

itself. It is not a question of better or worse administration: either is possible, I suppose. But the plan is essentially and incurably vicious and disintegrating, and could not be so administered as to produce good results. Its effect upon Indian schools is the same, essentially, as would result if it were applied to the colleges and universities of the country. It would not help the matter to have a neutral board at Washington to supervise all the Indian Schools and make appointments of teachers for them. Every competent, experienced educator is aware that each school must have one responsible head. This method is as necessary in education as in the command of an army. Mr. John B. Riley, the present Indian School Superintendent, in his report dated November 1st, 1886, says: “In entering upon my duties, a surprising fact was encountered. I found that the Indian School Superintendent, who is held in a great degree responsible for the successful operation of the Indian school system, possesses no authority to direct or control the operations of that system. . . . The Superintendent has access to all correspondence relating to the schools, but he has no executive authority. He cannot in any way direct a system of which he is declared to be the Superintendent.”

Before this, Mr. Oberly, the former Superintendent, had declared that “the Indian School



Superintendent does not possess official authority that enables him to efficiently control the Indian School System. He has no official powers."

Improvement in the method and character of the local administration on the reservations is, in many cases, what is most needed for the advancement of particular tribes of Indians toward self-support and civilization. On some of the reservations from which the agents every year send to Washington rose-colored and enthusiastic reports of Indian progress, the conditions now prevailing and the methods which are in use do not constitute or provide for a state of continuous development, or gradual advancement toward civilization, or render its ultimate attainment possible. The legitimate and necessary effect of the existing method is to insure its own perpetuation and permanence, and its natural result in Indian character is likely to be the creation of a peculiar type which we may call nursing-bottle civilization. Under this beautiful system of things many Indians are likely to conclude that it pays to be Indians, that it is easier to lead a half-gypsy sort of life, with some picturesque features, a hybrid costume and a half-brute dialect, than to become orderly, hard-working citizens. Many of the Indians whom I have seen have gone about as far toward civilization, I think, as we can reasonably

expect them to go without a radical change in the conditions under which they are living, and if we wish really to save any of these Indians, such a change must be made very soon. Neither education nor religion, nor both together, can effect this change, or save the Indians without it. It belongs to the province of Government, to the functions of the State, and can be attained only by the exercise of the powers of the national Government, the execution of the sovereign will of the American people. If the Indians are "the wards of the nation," the nation should guard and provide for them, and should dispose and direct their affairs and interests as may be most just, wise and right.

The attention of thoughtful men who have some knowledge of the subject should at once be directed to the need of a coherent, intelligent, and intelligible system of Government schools for the practical, intellectual, and industrial education of all the young Indians of our country.

There should be adequate provision for the instruction of all our Indian children. Much of the talk about economy in this department is unintelligent and misleading. In many cases the appropriations for the salaries of teachers and employes, and for other educational purposes, are too small for efficient work, and should be in-

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creased. The increase of salaries in the Indian Office at Washington should be accompanied by provision for adequate pay for the teachers and other people who do the work on the reservations. Those not worthy of reasonable and proper compensation should be dismissed. Throughout all departments and grades of the Indian service only competent and efficient persons should be employed, and these should in all cases receive adequate pay for their work. The plan of asking people to undertake a specially difficult business from philanthropic motives for half-pay is peculiarly vicious and impractical. It always results in poor work; but even that is not so bad as its effect in blinding and misleading everybody concerned regarding the real nature of the business in which they are engaged. Only men and women who have renounced all the ordinary motives and interests of life in this world—such as members of religious orders vowed to poverty and entire self-sacrifice—should be expected to work for less than the means necessary to comfortable living.

As soon as possible, we should have legislation by Congress defining the office, powers, and duties of the Superintendent of Indian Schools. The office and work should be a part of the business of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, so as to make as little change as possible in the financial

relations and official responsibility of this part of the general Indian service. Every considerable change of method, or shifting of the centre of responsibility, involves loss of time, labor and energy. All good administrators crave permanence—continuity of method and development—understanding that it is an indispensable condition for successful administration, and radical changes of system should be made only when progress is impossible without them.

While the powers of the superintendent should be enlarged and clearly defined, he should be, as at present, responsible to the heads of the Departments already existing. A separate new Department or Bureau should not be established. The Superintendent of Indian Schools will have work enough in Washington to keep him there most of his time, when the system of Indian schools is properly developed and extended, so as to provide for the education of all Indians of school age. He will need several assistants, or inspectors of schools, to be always in the field, visiting the schools everywhere. I think the most convenient and successful plan for the management of the Indian schools on the reservations would be to make them, as they were formerly, a part of the administration of the Indian agents, who should select the teachers and be responsible for their work. The appointment of school em-

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ployés by the Indian Office at Washington is an accidental feature of the present national administration. If the American people ever happen to care enough about it to have it inquired into by Congress, the arrangement will be summarily discontinued. It has no advantages, and is a miserable failure so far as the education of the Indians is concerned.

The day schools on the reservations constitute a natural and necessary feature of any practical system of Indian education. The current objections to them are superficial, and show that their authors have no comprehensive grasp of the subject. No new Indian schools should be established in the Eastern States, and nobody should hereafter be permitted to take charge of young Indians for the purpose of educating them who does not possess superior qualifications so obvious as to be unquestionable. Every Indian school and its work should be always open to the direct observation of any intelligent and responsible person, and official investigation should be frequent and thorough.

There should soon be many Government industrial boarding schools for Indians in Western towns, near the reservations. The principals of such schools should be bonded employés of the National Government, and should be responsible to the officers at Washington, who will necessarily

have the power of appointment and removal. These principals should be selected from among the most successful teachers of the State or territory in which they are to be employed. Those who have had experience in Indian schools should be preferred, if they are adequately qualified otherwise. No reason or influence should avail to protect or retain an incompetent teacher, and no school employé of any grade should be discharged for any reason except incompetence or inferior service.

A bill providing for the establishment and administration of such a system of Indian schools should be prepared during the interval between this time and the next session of Congress. It should be introduced early, discussed, developed and perfected, so that it will be intelligible to the country, and adopted, and it should be supplemented by the appropriations necessary for its efficient execution. As noted elsewhere in this volume, Indian education should be mostly elementary on the literary side, and predominantly industrial. It is not probable that any good would result from attempts to make scholars of many Indians, but if any of them show special ability they should have a fair chance to develop it. But most Indian lawyers and physicians are likely to be over-weighted with disadvantages in professional competition with white men.





idea that the young Indians who are educated at the Eastern schools should all "go to the reservation to lift up the tribe" has inculcated and insisted upon with an emphasis somewhat extreme. It is certain that nearly all young people will go back for the present, or it is best for them to do so or not. But an Indian has a real opportunity to work and a living in many ways anywhere among people, he will probably, in most cases, do to "lift up his tribe" by keeping himself up, the squalor and disorder of savagery, than accomplish by going back to the reservation unless he has a certainty of employment there will secure him a living. Of course, if a specific duty or obligation, resulting from the personal relations or circumstances of a particular Indian, requires him to go back to his reservation and stay there, he should do so. Duty requires a man to lower himself into a mine choking fire-damp, to endeavor to release his comrades, or to pass the rest of his life in a hospital for lepers to cheer them with his company while they await the doom inevitable for them and for him. When duty points the way, no true man can hesitate because the path is dark.

the assumption that a general obligation to go to the reservation rests upon the students

of the Eastern Indian schools, the assumption that it is their duty to go back there "to lift up the tribe," seems to me entirely without support in the facts and conditions of the case. I was requested, when I went out to the Indian country last spring, to find out as much as I could of the situation of the students who had returned to the reservations from Carlisle and Hampton. I saw many of them. I think they are generally doing as well as we could reasonably expect, which means that we could not reasonably expect very much of these young people. It is a short story. When they have employment they do well. But there is little employment for educated young Indians on the reservations, and there is a general prejudice, among both Indians and the white employers, against the young men who have returned from the Eastern schools. I saw some pathetic cases of returned students who were eager to work, and who felt keenly the degradation of enforced idleness, but who could obtain no employment. They were tin-smiths, harness-makers, carpenters, etc., among a population where there would not be a stroke of work for them from the beginning of the year to its end. An idle man does not "lift up the tribe." Unless there is a specific place or duty awaiting a young man's return to the reservation, I would say to him: "Go anywhere among civilized men, and do any

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honest work for your living, rather than return to be incorporated into that hopeless, inorganic cake of savagery." When I saw stalwart, manly-looking young fellows in the Indian country, wasting their years to no worthy end, I wanted to say: "Escape for your lives! Run away, get over the line, and keep going till you are so far away that it would be hard to get back. Work on a farm: do anything that is honest; live among men, and become a man."

It is sometimes urged that the affection of the Indians for their children should be regarded as decisive in this matter; that it should outweigh all other considerations, and should be spoken of only with a solemn hush and veneration. But English mothers love their children as well; yet I have seen their younger sons herding cattle in Texas and Montana, overseeing miners in Alabama, and serving in restaurant kitchens in New York and Philadelphia. Our own children leave home early and go all about the world to find work and make a living. Hundreds of the tenderly reared daughters of Vermont mothers are in the cotton mills of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. There is not much substance, or practical value, in this talk about the Indians loving their children so well that they cannot bear to be separated from them. It has been used "for all it is worth," and a great deal more. If Indians

are to become civilized, they will have to accept some of the risks and hardships of civilized life.

In visiting Indian schools I saw some things not to be commended. I was told by some persons who were educating Indians by contract, and were paid so much per head by the Government, that they could not afford to give the Indian children milk or butter; that the taste for these articles of food was "an acquired taste," and not important; that their Indian pupils lived largely on pork, because they could not afford to supply them with anything else. When I remarked that Eastern physicians thought it important that Indian children should have milk and some vegetable food, they repeated contemptuously that they could not afford it. When I referred to their limited use of the English language in school, and to the amount of instruction in Dakota, I was told that the churches which sent these teachers out to the Indian country did not send them there to *educate* the Indians, nor to *civilize* them, but to *convert* them and save their souls. I could not discover anything in either the personal equipment or the methods employed in teaching these Indians which seemed fitted to improve or develop them in any degree, so far as life in this world is concerned. Aside from the matter of saving their souls, which I do not discuss, I



thought they might as well have been left on the reservations, to grow up in the free life of the camp and the plains.

One of the most noticeable features of school and agency administration which I observed during my journey was the frequent disregard of elementary sanitary laws. Many of the large and costly boarding school buildings recently erected have no transoms over the doors in the interior of the house, and no means or arrangement for ventilation except one window in each room. Very few of the people in charge seemed aware that one aperture does not produce ventilation, or that it is necessary to set the air in a room in motion, or produce a current, so that the vitiated air may pass out somewhere, and the purer outside air come in somewhere else. In some of the new buildings the dormitories are extremely unwholesome in construction and arrangements, and the means for ventilation ridiculously inadequate.

The out-buildings for the use of the pupils and of the teachers at many of the schools were in a condition of disgraceful and intolerable foulness, and the same is true of many of those at the agencies, which are used by the officers of the Government themselves. Many of them have no windows, or any openings for the admission of light or air. When I spoke of the need of attention to

cleanliness in such buildings, I was sometimes told that the teachers might be glad that *any* place was provided for them. As many of the teachers are young women from the Eastern States, with as much refinement and delicacy as are possessed by those who remain in their Eastern homes, these conditions and surroundings are inexpressibly revolting. Such neglect is without excuse. Men of all classes, teachers, Government officers and missionaries, sometimes accept too readily the lower, coarser and more careless methods of life on the frontier, especially in regard to these sanitary interests. I shall speak of the subject only in this general way in this report, but on my next visit to these reservations I shall feel obliged to describe all instances of such mismanagement, and to give the names of those who are responsible.

A prominent officer of the U. S. Army writes to me that he thinks I should tell my readers, as exactly and plainly as possible, what plan or method of work I would employ, to begin with, if an Indian reservation were put into my hands, with all necessary means and facilities for efficient administration. I should first take a good horse or team, or, on some reservations, would go up in a balloon, and examine, as thoroughly as I could, the territory assigned to my control. I should study its soil, water supply, climate and situation,



its adaptation to special industries and possible means of self-support for the Indians. If I found the region incapable of yielding permanent support for its existing Indian population, I should report that fact to the Government, and ask for the assignment of adequate land for my Indians somewhere else.

But if I found the land of the reserve fitted partly for agriculture and partly for stock-raising, I should apportion the arable land in individual allotments, ascertain what seeds and agricultural implements I should need, and would buy them wherever I could purchase to the best advantage. I should find out what teachers, assistants, and subordinates of various kinds I should require, and should employ them as if the work were my own personal business. I would instruct the Indians in agriculture, and in such mechanic arts as would be of actual use to them. If they had coal on their land they should mine and use it. If they had iron they should be taught to smelt and manufacture it. If they had timber they should learn to make their own utensils and furniture.

I should at first leave the grazing land unallotted and undivided, to be used by the people in common, and should buy such stock as the country might be fitted to sustain, instruct the Indians in its management, and apportion the animals among those best qualified to take care of

them, and later among all. When an Indian had learned any trade or industry so as to be capable of self-support, if he wished to leave the reservation and live and work elsewhere he should do so. The Indian girls should be taught all practical housework, and necessary feminine indoor industries, and also gardening and the lighter kinds of farmwork, and they should be encouraged to pursue them.

Elementary school or literary instruction should be universal for the young people. It should include English speaking, reading and writing, and such knowledge of arithmetic as a laborer or artisan would need to enable him to keep his own accounts. (No encouragement or assistance should be given to learn or use any of the Indian tongues.) School instruction beyond these elementary branches should be given only to those who showed special intellectual aptitudes. Lessons in civil government, and in the duties, rights and responsibilities of citizenship, should be given to young men in evening schools and on Sundays. I should give all male Indians under forty-five years of age military drill, and should arrange to have them represented in the militia of the State in which they live. All men would be welcome to come to my reserve and look on, observe, and report, to their hearts' content, but no philanthropists or theorists would be permitted to interfere



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+ with my people's work, or to try any industrial, social, or other experiments among them. Reformers of every kind should stay outside until they were as well civilized as my Indians.

Reading matter should be sent to the boarding schools, and to the teachers of all the Indian schools, indeed, everywhere. The bright young Indians are hungry for good, vital, interesting reading, and they have great difficulty in obtaining anything for their recitations and entertainments, having nothing but their school books. I heard an Indian girl on the Klamath reserve recite Mr. Lowell's poem "*The Heritage*" with an earnestness and an evident appreciation of its thought and meaning which would, I am sure, have been very interesting to the distinguished author if he could have heard it.

The self-appointed Washington managers of the affairs of the Omaha Indians have admitted the failure of their scheme. It was an irresponsible protectorate which did not protect anybody, and was identified from the first with a faction of the tribe and its quarrels and fooleries. The business affairs of Indians should be conducted by responsible business men, according to business methods. It is not an advantage to a tribe to have special

"friends" at Washington to take charge of their business in extra-official ways.

The Government should now appoint a good agent or sub-agent for the Omahas, a farmer and a physician, as is pointed out in the Notes on the Omaha reserve, in the first part of this book. (Page 30.) Mr. Robert Ashley, of Decatur, Nebraska, would make an excellent agent.

I meet people, now and then, who lament the existence of radical differences of opinion among "friends of the Indians," in regard to the methods to be employed for the solution of the Indian problem, and the guidance of the Indians through the period of transition between their present condition and that of self-supporting industry, and equal citizenship with the rest of the American people. But such differences are inevitable, and it is not worth while to regret them. The subject naturally attracts sentimentalists of various classes, and people who have a genius for reforming things. Some persons make a business or occupation of the promulgation of their ideas regarding Indian affairs. Others regard their own opinions with a kind of religious awe and veneration, and are naturally a little intolerant. But there is room for all these people. Every man who wishes to do so has a right to call himself "a friend of the Indians," to hire a hall,

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and advocate any view or theory whatever. The President gives to us all a wider public hearing, and even what is absurd may help to extend the discussion. When we have all done our best, the public will sift and decide, and, in the end, the best that is attainable under existing conditions will be done.

Many persons habitually denounce the Government or the Indian Office, or the system which at present is placed, and still retains, the Indians under the control of the National Government, as the responsible source of all that is unfavorable and undesirable in the present condition of the Indians. But mere general denunciation is an empty and useless thing. Criticism, to be either intelligent or useful, should be specific and definite.

The fact that the entire Indian business is under the control of the Congress of the United States is the best possible ground of hope and security for the Indian and his friends. Congress represents the people, and the condition of the Indians is a matter of national concern and responsibility. Therefore, we can at any time appeal to the intelligence, conscience and patriotism of the American people in general. But if the Indian service were not national, were not in this sense a unit, if, for instance, the existing system were

broken up, and the separate reservations were assigned to the control of the States and territories in which they are situated, the Indians would be practically, and to a very great extent, out of the reach of the American people, and their best friends would be powerless to help them, or directly affect their condition. The improvement and civilization of the Indians, the solution of the Indian problem, is to be a matter of administration; essentially, or in the main, it is to be a matter of improved and vital administration of the present system.

That is, the Indians should still be retained under the direct control of the National Government, until they no longer require special guardianship, and are ready to be merged in the general body of the people of the country. When the Indians on any reservation reach that condition they will be ready for State citizenship, and then, and not till then, the reservations should, one by one, be finally broken up. Until that time the general Government's control over them should be maintained. I have not heard of any better plan than the present system of Indian agents for the management of the Indians or the government of the reservations. The system should be made more efficient and vital in administration. The autocratic authority of the agent, of which theorists sometimes complain;

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is a necessity of the actual conditions of the problem. It is required by the facts, and is not in itself, or of necessity, oppressive. I have seen no reason for believing that the existing system of government by agents is, in any feature, more oppressive in its effect upon the Indians than any other system of management would be, and some system of control is a necessity.

The pay of Indian agents should be increased very considerably, the office made more important, and only men who have a distinct conception of the real object of Indian administration—the preparation of the Indians for self-support and citizenship—should be selected as agents. Whatever an agent needs for efficient administration should be provided. (At present there is nearly everywhere measureless waste, delay and failure because this is not done.) Then, whenever an agent, who has been properly supplied with means and facilities for his work, shows that he is not qualified thus vitally to lead and guide the Indians forward, he should be displaced. But as long as his work, judged by its results, is successful, he should continue it without interference from any source. If I am asked what security against tyranny or other mal-administration such a system or method would supply, I answer that the greatest safeguard for any system of Indian management must henceforth be publicity. While

competent observers can at any time visit every reservation, and report to the people of the country what they see, the Indians have the only real security and protection which is possible in the nature of the case. It is folly to suppose that any system can, in itself, protect or benefit the Indians. The protection and benefit must come to them in and by administration.

On several reservations which I visited Indians intimated that they had "friends" in Washington, to whom they had paid money for looking after their interests, obtaining help from the Great Father, getting Congress to make good laws for Indians, etc. They evidently wished to learn from me—if I knew—what their "friends" were doing for them, but wished to do so without giving me any information on the subject. If it is really true that some persons at Washington obtain money from Indians on pretence of having influence with the Government, or of rendering valuable services in the advancement of Indian interests in any way at the national Capital, the swindle should be exposed, and the swindlers arrested and punished. The Indians everywhere should be warned, by the agents and all officers of the Government, not to give money to anybody for influence or work at Washington. Some Eastern people are expending considerable sums in defense

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and promotion of Indian interests, but there is no mystery about their work, and they do not receive money from Indians.

There is a large camp of Sioux at the mouth of Cherry Creek, on the Cheyenne River reservation in Dakota, which should be broken up. There are several men in it, who, in accordance with the agent's uniform policy, and under his direction, have tried to leave the camp in order to live on separate allotments and engage in civilized industry as a means of self-support. In every case the men making such efforts have been attacked with abuse and violence by the savages of the tribe, under the direction of the chiefs. Their animals are slain or maimed, and their other property destroyed, and the men themselves beaten until they are forced to relinquish all effort at improvement.

It is an abominable and outrageous state of things, but under the existing system and methods there appears to be no remedy. Of course, the agent can cut off the rations of these hundreds of Indians, but that would be idle and useless. They would simply take care of themselves, roaming about, and living off the country around the reservation. That would soon be intolerable to the settlers. There is no reason for the Government maintaining these Indians and at the same

time permitting them to act in this way. The present condition of affairs is an absurdity and a nuisance. The agent should be directed to give notice that the camp is to be entirely broken up and abandoned, that no one will be permitted to live there any longer, and that the Indians must scatter, settling wherever the agent wishes them to go. An adequate force of United States soldiers should be at hand to enforce the order. If any chief, or big man, resists or opposes, he should be arrested, put in irons and snatched off the reservation, and sent to some prison where he will have to work. There is more savage foolery and stupidity in the Cherry Creek camp than in any other company of Indians of which I have any knowledge. They number about 550. They were among the hostiles who surrendered with Sitting Bull, and are known as Hump's band of the Minneconjou Sioux. The Cheyenne River reservation is entirely too large; it should be divided and some of the land sold for settlement by white men, whether the Indians are willing or not.

One of the greatest hindrances for Indians who wish to improve, acquire property and become civilized, is the influence of the old order of things in the matter of tribal possession. When the people lived by hunting, and operated as a tribe,





as they often did when hunting the buffalo, common possession was a reasonable right. There was no such thing as personal property in food, or, indeed, in anything else, except, perhaps, articles of clothing actually on one's back. Under such a system, civilization is, of course, impossible. It is now a potent instrument, in many tribes, for the repression of all the young people who wish to improve and advance. I have seen instances of it when educated young Indians had married, built themselves a house, and laid in a stock of provisions for the winter, flour, meat, vegetables, fruit, sugar, coffee, tea, salt, soap, etc. While the young man is away at work, the old chiefs of the tribe, and their retainers, will come to the house and eat up, and carry away, every vestige of food, and every article of clothing and furniture, leaving the house bare and the young people utterly destitute. This practice illustrates very well the chance that many educated young Indians enjoy, "to work for the lifting up of the tribe," to quote a phrase which is used much more in the East than on the reservations.

Even when this kind of robbery is veiled, as it often is, under the forms of friendly visiting, it is none the less effective in repressing efforts at self-support; and on many of the more important reservations the practice of visiting and feasting wherever an industrious Indian has acquired any-

thing, is one of the strongest barriers in the way of any advance toward a better order of things. In many instances there is no possibility of preventing such spoliation until the laws of the country are extended to include the Indians.

I think that the feature of treaties, and of Congressional legislation, which provides that the consent of the Indians must be obtained before any important changes can be made in their condition, is likely to be a source of difficulty and trouble for the Government, in some cases, within a few years. It is my opinion that this provision will have to be set aside and disregarded, in some cases, in the interests of the Indians themselves. Some tribes have steadfastly set themselves to maintain existing conditions, and to prevent any steps toward the abolition of the tribal organizations, or of the present reservation system. If our National Government is to protect the Indians, it should govern them. No more agreements depending upon their consent should be made with them. The business men of the country should acquaint themselves with the Indian situation, so that future measures affecting Indian interests may be intelligently devised for the security of the Indian's rights. Then, when the changed conditions of the time plainly require the abrogation of some features of existing treaties,



in order to give to the Indians opportunity and security which they cannot now have, these features of the treaties should be abrogated.

Every particular reservation and tribe or company of Indians will have to be examined, studied, and dealt with by itself, at least at first. The Indians cannot be understood, nor successfully managed and controlled in detail from a distance. That is the fatal defect of the present system and methods. The men who control are too far away, where they can have no adequate knowledge of the essential facts and determining conditions of daily life on the reserve. It would soon come to the same thing if any of our Eastern philanthropists, or the officers of the Indian Rights Association themselves, were put in charge of Indian affairs at Washington, if the present system of control and administration of details from a distance were continued. The work of civilizing the Indians, or preparing them, as far as possible, for life in the new order of things (upon which they must soon enter whether they have any preparation or not), must be done on the reservations. It cannot be done at Washington. I have no doubt that the business men of the country, if they became interested in the subject, could devise means and methods for the accomplishment of the work. (Of course, as I have elsewhere made clear, the

central authority should be in the Government offices at Washington, as it now is; but the Indian agent on each reservation should have full powers, and all needed means and facilities for his work. He should choose his subordinates and have complete control of them, and of all details of work and administration on the reserve. He could then rightly be held entirely responsible for all the results.)

Meanwhile, I can see plainly, everywhere in the Indian country, that the powers of Indian agents should be enlarged, their office made more important, with better pay, so as to make it practicable for men of high character and ability to enter the service on the reservations, and to continue in it while they are successful. I do not think the agency and reservation system should be at once abolished. On the contrary, I think it will be necessary to the very end of our work with the Indians as a separate and special class. The reservation system can be so administered as to prepare the way for its own extinction, by guiding the Indians into conditions in which reservations and agents will no longer be necessary. It is so administered, in many cases, at present, as to provide for and require its own permanent perpetuation. The methods of administration maintain and reproduce the conditions and forces

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which hold the Indians in an undeveloped and parasitic state of life.

+ No Indian that I have seen has any idea of civilization, or of the responsibilities and perils which it involves. It is not likely that any training or preparation that we shall be able to give them will ever enable many of the Indians to endure successfully direct and unshielded contact with the civilization of the present time. Our modern life is too intense and complex for them; its competition and selfishness are far too fierce, and too thoroughly organized and trained, for a nature so simple and sincere as the Indian's. His natural character, so far as I have had opportunity for observing it, has too much of the moral element in it for him to be able long to maintain his ground in the state of war which in so great degree constitutes the substance and current practical experience of our civilization. He is too receptive, for his own interest in this world, to the simple, practical teaching of the New Testament. He does not understand injustice on the part of those whom he regards as his superiors, and his faculties are depressed and benumbed by it.

The Indians as a race are, of course, far inferior to white men in intellectual capability. That, in itself, is not matter for regret. We are all of

us immeasurably inferior to Socrates and Goethe, yet many people make life interesting and valuable. I see no reason to expect that our Indians will ever contribute anything vital or distinctive to our national character or life. That is not necessary or important. What is really to be desired for them is that they shall be so instructed, educated and guided that they shall, as soon as may be practicable, be able to support themselves, and that, obtaining the means of subsistence by their own industry, they shall live in quiet and orderly obedience to the laws of the country, enjoying their defense and protection. When they have reached that condition, the special care and work of the Government for them should cease. But the interest and efforts of churches, missionaries and philanthropic societies should be continued and increased after the special protection and control of the Government have been withdrawn, and the reservation system has been abolished. There will then still be abundant and most important work for such an organization as the Indian Rights Association. \*

What is the Indian problem? Set forth plainly, without confusing rhetoric or sentimentality, it is the question how the Indians shall be brought to a condition of self-support, and of equal rights before the law, in which they will no longer require

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the special protection and control of the Government.

The problem has its alternative. If the Indians are not so instructed, educated and guided that they shall become self-sustaining, industrious and law-abiding citizens, they must inevitably sink to a condition of permanent pauperism, and re-enforce, almost in a body, whatever vicious and disintegrating tendencies already exist in our great Western communities. We have more than 250,000 Indians in our country. They are not scattered or distributed in all parts of it. There are enough of them in various restricted regions and districts to become an intolerable curse to the white communities for all time to come, and a burden which will always cripple and depress their vitality. So far as I can now judge, this appears to be the most probable destiny for most of the Indians, unless the people of the country interpose to prevent it.

It will probably be said by and by that nothing better could be done with the Indians or for them. But nobody can know that this is true; for no reasonable or practical system of management adapted to their guidance through their transition to the conditions of civilized life, has ever been tried. The Indians generally have never had, have not now, and, as I think, are not likely ever to have, what would be half a fair chance or just opportunity for any class of people.

The popular creed on the subject, which clothes itself with the solemn sanctions and imperial authority of science is, that the Indian is doomed and fated to fade away, by reason of his inherent inferiority to the white man. Well, let him fade. Nobody need mourn if any race, justly treated, and with reasonable opportunity for self-perpetuation, comes to an end because its vitality is exhausted and its puny and vanishing representatives no longer reproduce their kind. When a race perishes thus it is time for it to go. But when people numbering hundreds of thousands are destroyed on their own soil by the richest and strongest nation under the sun, crushed and exterminated by means of falsehood and theft, of mountainous fraud and ferocious murder, I do not call that fading out. It is altogether a different matter.

My controversy with a very large proportion of the American people regarding this subject is exactly this: They appear to believe that because we are strong enough to trample upon and destroy the Indians, and there is nobody to call us to account, we may safely do so. I doubt that. I do not believe it. I do not pretend to understand the laws which govern the social world and the course of forces and events in the life of men. But it seems to me that it is by no means plain that we can safely do such deliberate and outra-



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geous wrong. How do people know that it will be safe and profitable, and that there will be no retribution to weary and haunt us by and by? I do not believe they know at all. They are so greedy for the Indian land, poor as most of it is, that they are willing to leave to their children the added burden of a pauper population of a quarter of a million Indians, idle, vicious and criminal, rather than take the trouble to consider the subject, and to institute a policy which would be best and safest for the white people of the country.

The Indian problem will never be decided rightly until the business men of the country take it up, and apply business principles and methods to its investigation and solution. There is no need of rhetoric or sentimentality in treating the subject sensibly and practically. It would be just as well to vary the terms of the problem so that it would stand thus: What policy, system and methods of management in the conduct of Indian affairs would be best for the white people of the country? The conclusion would be equally favorable to the Indians, though we should make no distinct claim on their behalf. Of all our people, those of our great and growing Western communities have most at stake in this matter. But we are all one nation, and our business men everywhere should give attention to this pressing and rapidly developing state of things, and should

take the matter into their own hands. It will take time and money, but it will save more.

I meet a few persons in the Eastern States who think there is so much stealing in the Indian service on the reservations, so much misappropriation of Government funds by Indian agents, that all other evils and abuses in the service are trivial in comparison. They are fond of repeating that "all Indian agents will bear watching," and appear to think it a wise and valuable saying. But it is no more true of Indian agents than of everybody else, and therefore the phrase does not suggest anything helpful or illuminating. Such men are usually specialists in occupation, absorbed in pursuits which hold them apart from the general current of affairs and discussion in the country, or who have in some other way been prevented from observing the changes which have occurred in the character of the Indian service during the last twenty-five years. Their opinions of this subject appear to be based upon the history and traditions of a former period of our national life, rather than upon the facts of the present.

A thorough examination and exposition of the system and methods of agency book-keeping now in use on all the reservations, and of the character of the reports and statements which must be constantly sent to the Indian Office at Washington,

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would show that there cannot now be any considerable opportunity for theft, however agents and clerks may unite in desiring or attempting to steal, if the officers and clerks at Washington attend properly to their duties. The only collusion that would avail to render theft possible, or that would secure it from immediate discovery, would be the collusion of the officers at Washington with the agent and his subordinates on a reservation, which is, of course, entirely impossible. As a matter of fact, it is well known, I believe, that no thefts, or financial irregularities of any moment, have been brought to light in the Indian service on the reservations during recent years. The real dangers and evils of the Indian service are to be looked for in other directions.

The industrial and social progress and development of the Indians depend, to a much greater extent than most people appear to understand, upon the character of the land which they occupy. Such land as that which makes up the greater part of the Omaha and Winnebago reservations, for instance, invites and will sustain a highly varied, complex and profitable agriculture. Nearly all the products of the great middle zone of our country, which extends east and west between the States lying farther north and south, can be successfully and profitably grown on

those reservations. The soil is rich and the climate all that can be desired. Corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, hemp and all our best grasses can be grown there, with all our most important root crops, potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots, parsnips and nearly all kinds of vegetable and garden products of temperate and semi-tropical regions, with grapes and nearly all the best small fruits. Grazing and stock-raising can be profitably combined with agriculture, and these regions would support a dense Indian population.

Wherever the soil is thus fertile and productive the land should be accurately subdivided, so as to give to each Indian family, in the possession of a definite area of ground, an adequate basis and security for a home and for the industries necessary to sustain it. There are, however, many reservations of which the soil and climate offer but very slight opportunity or return for agricultural labor. In such regions and conditions whoever occupies the land must depend for subsistence chiefly upon stock-raising. The land of such reservations as Rosebud and Pine Ridge, in Dakota, that of the Crow Indians, in Montana, the Klamath reserve in Southern Oregon, and several others which I have seen, will not sustain its inhabitants if they depend upon agriculture for the means of subsistence. After an extended and careful examination of the land of all these reser-

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vations, I am convinced that it can be made available for agriculture for the Indians only to this extent. The land which admits of cultivation (but a small proportion of the total area of these reserves) should be divided and allotted in severalty among the Indians, so as to secure to each family and individual an anchorage to a particular spot and portion of the soil, as the basis and necessary condition for a home. Without this the people would never pass beyond the nomadic stage of development, and would not attain to anything worthy of the name of civilization. But in all these regions the soil is so unproductive, and the supply of moisture so scanty, that the returns of agriculture are extremely uncertain, and taking several years together cannot be depended upon as an adequate means of support for the inhabitants. They can grow little in the most eastern of the arid regions named, besides the Ree corn, (a dwarf variety cultivated by the Indians in Southern Dakota, called Squaw Corn by the white people,) and a few vegetables and garden products. But the necessity of restraining the people from a nomadic life—or rather of carrying them beyond that stage of development—is so great, and all means adapted to that end so important, that this anchorage of each family to a subdivision of the arable land is indispensable, and it should be attended to most carefully. It is best for the In-

dians to try every year to produce as much as they can by farming and gardening, even though three crops out of five fail entirely and the other two bring but very moderate returns.

But in such regions the allotment of lands in severalty can have little value beyond this function of holding each family and person to a particular place, so as to develop the sentiments and local associations of home life. The grazing land in such regions should, I think, mostly be left undivided for the present, to be held by the people in common. Much of it is so poor that individual owners could not afford to fence their subdivisions, as the cost of fencing would be more than the land would sell for in open market. A large proportion of the grazing land in the regions named is of such a character, having everywhere considerable and irregular areas of sand, alkali and rock, that it would be impossible to subdivide it equally, or to decide what area of it would be equal in value and productiveness to an allotment which will produce grass over its entire surface.

As the Indians are the rightful owners of the land of their reservations, I can see no reason why they should be stinted in the amount of their own property which they are to be permitted to retain. It is not just to *pare down*, as closely as possible, the area of the lands to be subdivided among them; and without arguing the abstract



question whether injustice is ever profitable, I am convinced that this particular act of injustice, the wresting from the Indians of the grazing lands which are absolutely necessary to enable them to support themselves by stock-raising, will not be profitable to the people of this country. It would result in permanently pauperizing large Indian populations, and we have already enough people in America who are permanently parasitic, dependent and destructive, in their relation to the communities in which they live.

This is one of the most important of all the features and interests belonging to what is called the Indian problem, and there is great danger of hasty and ill-considered action, which, in its necessary and ultimate effect upon thousands of Indians, will render it impossible for them to enter upon a course of continuous development and progressive civilization, because they will be cut off from all adequate opportunity for self-support. If the allotment of lands in severalty is extended to the grazing lands, which constitute almost the entire area of some of the largest and most important reservations, it will bar the way to successful effort on the part of Indians at self-support by means of stock-raising. Before the people of the country decree the partition of Indian grazing lands they should consider, much more fully than they have yet done, how much land is required, in dif-

ferent parts of the plains country, to support a given number of cattle or horses, and how many cattle or horses will be required to afford the means of support, in civilized conditions and methods of life, for the Indian population of these reservations.

I cannot find that many people appear to have thought of this subject, except in the most vague and subjective way, and such definite conclusions as have been reached are mostly erroneous because they are not based upon any actual acquaintance with the facts of the case. If the grazing lands in such regions are to be allotted in severalty, then the area hitherto regarded as sufficient for each individual and family is by far too small. It is difficult to make any general statement or estimate regarding the area of land required for any given production or result, because the character and productiveness of the soil vary so greatly in different regions; but it was in many places plain to me that this measure—the allotment of lands in severalty—which has been devised in the interest of the Indian, is now in danger of being seized upon by his enemies, and used as a weapon against him with disastrous effect. In all the country around the Klamath reserve in Southern Oregon, for instance, the cattle-men, who are shamelessly and feloniously encroaching upon the Indian lands, are furiously eager for the allotment of their





land in severalty to the Indians of this reservation. The white men around many of the reservations are clamorous in their demand for such apportionment. The reason for this wholesale conversion to the doctrine of lands in severalty in such instances is simply that these white men hope soon to come into possession of the best lands now owned by the Indians.

The area of the Klamath reserve in Oregon is reported by the officers of the Government at 1,056,000 acres, but it has been only partly surveyed. The present Indian population, according to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1886, is 972. Allotment on the scale fixed in the "General Land in Severalty Bill," recently passed by Congress, would not require one-third of the land for the Indians, and all the remainder would be opened for settlement by white men. After examining carefully nearly the whole of this reservation, I am convinced that there is no more land there than these Indians need for their own proper use and support. Of the whole area, probably not more than 50,000 acres will admit of agriculture, and even that small portion will yield but scanty, irregular and uncertain returns for the labor expended upon it.

The means of subsistence for these people must be derived almost wholly from stock-raising. For the proper scope and development of this industry

these Indians would need all the land they now possess, and it should be secured to them, and defended against all encroachment from white men. The agricultural land should be allotted in severalty, but the grazing land should be left as a common possession of the people, to avoid the need and cost of fencing it all into small lots. The same state of things exists, to a great extent, on several other important reservations.

Some of the missionaries have a strong prejudice against stock-raising by Indians, and always discourage it, holding that Indians should depend exclusively upon agriculture as a means of support. I think there is no reason for this prejudice, except the narrowness of view which in nearly all men results from complete absorption in one special province of work and thought. The missionaries know more about their own special occupation than anybody else, but they are not always more likely than other people to judge correctly regarding subjects lying outside of the field which is peculiarly their own. There are few features of the existing condition of the Indian more noticeable than the general apathy and indifference of many of the tribes, and of their guides and teachers, regarding stock-raising as a means of subsistence for the Indians, and of their advancement and civilization.

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On many reservations systematic preparation of stock-raising would be the first step—or, if any steps have been taken, the next step—in a course of real progress for these people, and one of inestimable importance. But in the case of many thousands of them nothing effective is being done for the promotion of this indispensable industry, nor any means employed to instruct and prepare the Indians for its proper management. Of these matters it is not possible to judge rightly without specific examination; but on the spot the facts are obvious, as I could easily show to any one in a few days' investigation on each particular reservation.

I talked with the principal men among the Indians wherever I went, and with hundreds of "the rank and file" on the various reservations visited during my journey. More strictly, I should say that I listened very fully, and at great length, to what they had to say. They were often much disappointed because I had no oratory for them, such as they have been accustomed to hear. Not many of them understand the futility of soft talk. They like to hear it. They told me nearly everywhere that the men who came from Washington all made many promises to the Indians which were never fulfilled. I said I would promise them nothing, except that I should tell the Eastern

people what I saw on the reservations, and what I thought about it. But one subject, which was always brought forward by the Indians, was everywhere discussed by them with much intelligence, reasonableness and good sense. This was the importance of having the boundaries of the reservations accurately defined and plainly marked. There are the strongest reasons why this subject should receive attention from the officers of the Government who are properly responsible in the matter. In cases of crime the question of jurisdiction, and of proper legal proceedings, often depends upon the boundaries of the reservation being accurately known or ascertainable. In many instances this is at present impossible. The treaty agreements or stipulations as to boundaries are often extremely vague, and the lines are entirely indeterminable, except by an authoritative Government survey. For instance, it is in some cases agreed in the treaties that the line of a reserve shall run from the summit of a particular mountain, along the ridge or top of a mountain chain to a certain other summit, and on examination it is found impossible to fix upon any particular spot or point as the summit, and the top of the mountain chain is so broad, or so divided into separate ridges, that no one can tell where the limit of the reservation really is.

In time many thousands of acres will, in some cases, be in dispute between white men and



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Indians on account of such uncertainties, unless the reservations are accurately surveyed. I told the Indians I should present this subject to the people of the country, and recommend the survey of all unsurveyed reservations, and the marking of all lines with some kind of durable monuments or posts not more than a mile apart. Many Indians said that their land ought to be measured, so that both they and the white people could "know their own country and keep at home;" but they often added that "every time any man from Washington looks at the Indian country a piece is taken off, on this side and that side, and soon Indian have no country."

There is no adequate justification for the Western hostility to the Eastern Indian Schools. There is always ground for criticism as to the method of management of everything human. But the Eastern Indian Schools had a natural origin in the necessities of the case, and their work is still indispensable. Their influence as *advertisements* of the general Indian problem and situation would, alone, amply justify their existence and cost. The increase of appropriations for the Western Indian Schools, and the general advance of public intelligence and sentiment regarding Indian affairs during the last few years, are in large measure the results of the work of these Eastern

Schools. They should be sustained without stint, and adapted progressively to the changing conditions and requirements of the time.

The principal Indian high schools, seminaries, academies, or boarding schools, the Indian schools of the grade of the existing Eastern institutions for Indian education, will probably, I think, be established in the towns or country places near the Indian reservations, and on the reservations themselves. They will, rightly, be in the West, in the "Indian country," or near it. There is no reason why such a school as that at Yainax, in Southern Oregon, should not be continued, developed, and made permanent. It has already as high a grade as the Salem School, and does as good work. A great school is not established—hardly founded—all at once.

Not only should most of the schools for Indians be in the West, but the business of Indian education, and, indeed, the responsible management of the Indian service in general, should henceforth be chiefly in the hands of Western men. There will probably always be something fantastic, too much of the *a priori* element, in the conduct of Indian affairs while they are administered almost entirely by Eastern and Southern men. However excellent in character,



and distinguished for other acquirements such men may be, they lack in actual knowledge of the material upon which they work at such excessively long range. There are enough capable and competent Western men for the work of practical and official administration. The people of the Eastern and Southern States would find their best field and opportunity, for effective influence in Indian affairs and interests, in the intelligent observation and coordination of facts, in moral, political and philanthropic cooperation with Western men, and in impartial criticism.

Henceforward only experienced and competent Indian agents should be selected for Commissioners of Indian Affairs; and no man should be promoted to the place of National Superintendent of Indian Schools who has not served up to it as an efficient and successful teacher of Indian young people.

It is not usually a benefit to Indians to have them go to Washington to "see the Great Father," or talk about Indian interests and affairs. They are apt to act like "spoiled children" after they return to the reservations, and to have such exaggerated ideas of their own importance that they are not likely ever to learn or do anything of value afterward. No Indian that I have seen has

anything to say that would make it worth while to bring him to the East. (Of course, people will give more money at missionary meetings if there is a "real, live Indian" on the platform, and I do not object to that, or intend any criticism of this method of obtaining contributions.) It is not probable that we shall receive much help from Indian thought in our endeavors to solve the Indian problem.

The "General Land in Severalty Bill" (which has recently become a law, and which is printed at the end of this volume), provides that when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, the same in quantity as the first allotment, shall be made to each individual. That is, in regions only fit for grazing, each head of a family is to have 320 acres, each single person over eighteen years of age, 160 acres; each orphan child under eighteen years, 160 acres, and each other single person now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in the reservation, eighty acres. (Women and girls are to have the same quantity of land as men and boys by the provisions of this law.) This double allotment should be made all over the Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Lower Brulé, Crow Creek,





Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Montana Crow, and many other reservations.

Let us suppose for the sake of illustration, that two female calves are given to a young Indian. Assuming the best of care and good fortune, how soon can this Indian have cattle enough to support him and his family? The most successful cattle-growers in Dakota and Montana say, at home, among their own class, that an annual increase equal to fifty per cent. of the number of female cattle above two years old is the most that can be reasonably expected. Larger stories are published in the newspapers for effect, but these men say that only successful thefts at branding-time will ensure a greater annual increase than this. About half the increase will, of course, be males. Now, how fast will the herd grow? This spring, 1887, let us say, there will be a calf in this Indian's barn-yard, and next spring, 1888, another. In 1889, the two-year old heifer may have a calf, making an addition of two for that year, and so on. Any one can count it up. The Indian should sell the male cattle at the most marketable age, and keep all his females to increase his herd. It will be readily seen that several years must elapse before an Indian can derive adequate support for his family from cattle-raising. He will suffer from accidents and the diseases of cattle, as other

herdsmen do. But it is a curious fact that many persons who can talk well refuse to consider or recognize these natural laws and limitations of the growth of a herd. "Oh," they say, "but there must be some way of growing faster than that." But I do not care to insist upon any particular rate of increase. I have only used this method to try to induce people to consider the natural laws which govern this industry, so that we may not deal with the subject as if there were some magic which would enable every Indian to call up vast herds of cattle out of the ground within a year or two after we set him down, bare and unaided, on an arid plain in Montana or Dakota. When I hear some men talk of this subject, I wish that I could put *them* down out there, and have them take their own medicine.

I have had letters from several young women, who say they think that teaching in the Indian country would be an attractive and interesting work, and who ask how they can obtain employment in this field. The best way would be to write to some missionary in the region where one wishes to teach. But I do not feel inclined to encourage any young woman from the Eastern States to go to the Indian country for such a purpose, unless she has seen the reservation to which she thinks of going, and has friends there



who will give her needed support and protection. It is not always judicious or safe for a young woman to travel alone in the newer regions of the West, and the work of teaching Indians on the reservations is probably not very interesting or attractive to those who are engaged in it. I have nothing to say of the matter unless my judgment is asked for, but when consulted, am obliged to suggest that there are many reasons against such an enterprise.

Moral assassination, or the destruction of reputation and character, is often resorted to on Indian reservations; as a means of obtaining the dismissal of a teacher, or other Government employé, whose place is coveted by some person who naturally employs the vilest and most dishonorable means for the attainment of any object, simply because such influences are to him most familiar and congenial. I have often been told, in towns near Indian reservations, that for ten dollars one could obtain ten affidavits accusing any man or woman of any crime whatever, and I have no reason to doubt the truth of the assertion. No degree of excellence, of purity or elevation of character, affords the least security or protection against the foulest accusations, and the rule that virtue and goodness are sure to triumph in the end has some exceptions in the Indian service. After

careful observation and study of the psychology of many Indian reservations, especially that of the white people on and near them, I am obliged to conclude that in all cases of charges of wrongdoing or impropriety of any kind against any person in the Indian service, the presumption is in the accused person's favor.

The allotments provided for by the new law, authorizing the apportionment of lands to Indians in severalty, are to be made by special agents appointed by the President for the purpose, acting in conjunction with the Indian agents in charge of the reservations on which the allotments are to be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may from time to time prescribe. Much depends upon the selection of these special agents.

Whenever a treaty or Act of Congress by which a reservation was established provides for larger allotments than are required by the new law, the Indians of that reservation are to have the larger allotments, whatever their extent may be. It will be interesting to learn what Indians are entitled to these special allotments, exceeding those required, in ordinary cases, by the new general land in severalty law, and to ascertain how much land they are to have.

After lands have been allotted to all the Indians



of any tribe, and *sooner if the President thinks it best*, the Secretary of the Interior may buy any lands the Indians may be willing to sell, but the purchase will not be complete until ratified by Congress.

Every Indian to whom allotments of land are made under this new law, and every Indian who has left his tribe and is living in civilized ways, is declared by this law to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of such citizens, and his citizenship does not impair or in any way affect his right to tribal or other property.

It is of the utmost importance that the work of careful and thorough observation and accurate reporting, which the Indian Rights Association has performed with such excellent results on some of the reservations, especially on those of the Mission Indians in California, should be speedily extended to all the reservations of our country, and to the condition of the Indians in Alaska. I am often asked by public-spirited and philanthropic men and women what special work for the Indians is most important, or most deserving of assistance and support. I know of no work for the Indians which is more practical or direct, more fully abreast with the time, or which will yield larger results in proportion to the

means employed, than that of the Indian Rights Association. Its directors serve without compensation. They should have twenty-five thousand dollars for the work of the Association for this year, and twice as much for the next. Neither the Association nor any person connected with its management has any pecuniary interest in any school, or land enterprise, or business venture, anywhere in the Indian country, or receives any pecuniary benefit from the success of any of the measures which it supports.

On some of the largest reservations which I visited, the Government makes no provision of a team or conveyance, or even of a single horse, for the use of the Government physician. As the Indians no longer live near the agencies, it is, of course, impossible for a physician to visit them without a team. On most of the large reservations the character of the country is such that the Government physician needs two good horses and a light strong wagon for his work. Some of the agents said an impression appeared to prevail at Washington that street cars and elevated railroad lines run all over the reservations. The benefit of sending a physician out without such supplies as are indispensable to his efficiency is mostly nominal. This matter should be looked into during the next session of Congress. There



should also be a hospital established immediately at each Indian agency, with suitable buildings and supplies, for the benefit of Indians requiring such medical aid and nursing as cannot be supplied in their cabins or lodges. I know of no object for which reasonable expenditures would be more helpful in the work of civilizing the Indians, or more humane than this, and I believe all Indian agents concur in this view.

It is often said that we shall have no more Indian fighting. I am not sure of that. I think it possible that we may yet sometimes have pretty serious work with some of the tribes, arising partly from encroachments by white men, partly from the difficulty of at once establishing efficient administration everywhere, and also, in some degree, from the obtuse and unsubduable Indianism of some of the chiefs. I have no doubt that coercion will sometimes be necessary.

On many of the reservations I found Indian courts—courts composed of Indian magistrates or judges. Most of them appeared to be good men, and several of the Indian agents regarded the courts as highly useful. The men are not paid. They should be, if their services are valuable. If they are not, the courts should be discontinued. The work requires much time, and working for

nothing is not usually a civilizing process for either Indians or white men.

The following passages from recent reports of Indian agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs afford independent support to the views I have expressed in this volume regarding the selection of subordinates on the reservations:—

FROM THE REPORT OF CAPT. J. M. LEE, U. S. A., INDIAN AGENT AT CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHOE AGENCY, INDIAN TERRITORY, AUGUST 31ST, 1886.

\* \* One additional farmer was removed to make place for one appointed by the Department. The appointee in this case, though a most excellent old gentleman, is, I regret to say, by reason of old age and permanent infirmity, not suited to discharge the duties of his position. I presume the Department was not aware of this when the appointment was made, though the facts have since been made known. This farmer has done no full duty since July 8th, and the agency physician reports that he will never be able for active duty. I am now compelled to employ an Indian to perform the duties.

I am glad to realize that it has not been deemed necessary to change the experienced, efficient and reliable clerical force which has "in and out of hours" so ably, zealously, and loyally seconded



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every effort that has been made to meet official requirements.

It may perhaps be pertinent to express my views in relation to the removal and appointment of agency employes, and I do so in no spirit of disrespect to the higher authorities. If an agent uses his position to bestow personal patronage upon his friends and relatives because they are such, then it is quite apparent that if corruption, fraud and inefficiency—not wholly unknown in the past histories of some agencies—creep in, the agent, to correct these evils, must rise to the Roman standard of patriotism and duty; and abuses “in the family” may escape even the all-seeing eye of the dreaded inspector. If, on the other hand, the Department, from a long way off, appoints the clerks, farmers, carpenters, herders, *et al.*, without the recommendation of the agent, without a personal knowledge of the applicant's qualifications, without an acquaintance with the peculiar necessities of each agency, it is equally apparent that these new and untried employes will be a constant source of embarrassment to the agent, and instead of accelerating the progress of the Indians will be a certain hindrance to their advancement. The constant changes in one of the most difficult branches of the service, requiring, above all others, experience, tact and earnest

work, is one of the most potent reasons for the snail-like progress in the civilization of the Indians. If the Indian is ever to be civilized, the work must be done *right on the reservation*, by the *right kind of workers*. All the conventions of well-meaning philanthropists, all the speech-making in legislative halls, all the travelling commissions that skim the surface and evolve theoretical solutions of the problem, will never do any practical good where the good is needed. No Indian was ever civilized “from afar off.” Were it practicable, almost every new employe, mechanic or farmer should serve a year or more of apprenticeship under “old hands” before he or she is fitted to deal with the Indians understandingly. In two out of three of the appointments made at this agency, the Department was evidently misled as to qualifications and fitness. I hazard the opinion that, as a rule, those persons who through political influence and the importunities of friends press hard for positions at Indian agencies are failures in civil life, and so get foisted into some good place where a living will be assured, which they found it difficult to obtain in private pursuits. There may be exceptions, but they are not common. Every employe so appointed comes with an implied warrant of influence to “back him up,” and an agent cannot well effect his removal for inefficiency without a prolonged correspond-



ence. In my opinion an efficient, experienced, faithful and reliable clerk, farmer or mechanic should never be removed to make place for a new man. \* \* \*

FROM THE REPORT OF CAPT. JAMES M. BELL, U. S. A., EX-AGENT AT PINE RIDGE AGENCY, DAKOTA, SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1886.

\* \* \* \* \*

The uncertainty as to tenure of office existing in the minds of employes at this agency, due to the system adopted by the Department of appointing persons to fill various positions who are entirely devoid of experience in Indian affairs, is demoralizing and injurious to the service. Under the present system they feel, and properly so, that the faithful attention to duty, honesty and efficiency count for little, and that it is only a question of time when the Department will require their place for some one as a reward for political services. The chief herder, who has faithfully performed his duties at this agency for several years, has recently been removed to give place to the appointment of a young man from Tennessee, who has never had a day's experience in taking care of large herds of cattle on the plains in winter, and I imagine that his first experience with a Dakota blizzard will make him wish for the comforts of his Tennessee home. The efficient issue clerk has also been removed and his place filled

by the appointment, contrary to regulations, of a partner in one of the Indian trading establishments of this place, the removal and appointment having been made by an Inspector of the Department, and during the absence of the agent. I have not heard of any charges having being made against either of the persons removed. Until honesty and faithful performance of duty are taken into account and made the basis of tenure of office, and until the Department and its management are entirely and absolutely divorced from politics, but little can be hoped for in the way of material progress.

The policy now in vogue is degrading and demoralizing. The agent is but a figure-head, and is prevented, by the interference of the Department, from conducting the affairs of the agency according to common sense, business principles. It is impossible for an agent to maintain a manly sentiment of independence and self-respect, and remain voluntarily in the service; and nine-tenths of the agents, if they express their true sentiments, will endorse what I say. There can be but one head to an Indian Agency, and the agent should be that head, if discipline, the mainspring of success, is to be maintained. If an agent is not capable of selecting the persons to serve under him, he is not a fit person for the place, and should be removed.

[REDACTED]

Both Indians and employes are kept in a constant state of uncertainty and unrest by the perpetual expectation of the dropping of the official axe. It is unreasonable to expect that employes can have the interest necessary to the proper execution of their duties, with the feeling that they are at any time liable to discharge without any other cause than that their positions, or rather their salary, are needed for some political office seeker. It is a serious reflection upon the integrity, intelligence, discretion and good sense of an agent to say to him, as is constantly done by the Department, that he cannot be trusted to select proper persons to fill the places under him. No man of intelligence and manly self-esteem can be in sympathy with such a policy.

FROM THE REPORT OF W. W. ANDERSON, ESQ., AGENT AT CROW CREEK AND LOWER BRULÉ AGENCY, DAKOTA, AUGUST 28TH, 1886.

\* \* \* \* \*

The appointment of agency clerks is next in importance to that of agents, and they should be selected with almost as much care with a view to their fitness. There seems to have been quite a number accepting positions who had an utter misconception of their duties, many of them believing they would have a little calico to measure off and a few pounds of sugar to weigh occasionally, and that the balance of their time

could be devoted to whittling goods boxes, when the fact is, that they have to run accounts quite complicated, and have enough work to keep them busy for at least twelve hours of the twenty-four. The result of this is, that much of an agent's time is taken up with the clerical work in the office, instead of being out on the reservation. It goes without saying that an agent should be thoroughly acquainted with the office business, but should not be required to perform the routine duties of his clerk.

\* \* \* \* \*

I cannot, for want of space, write of all the good work that I saw or of the people engaged in it. But my thanks are due to nearly everybody named in the book for information and assistance, and for great personal kindness. Even the few people whose official work I cannot commend were very kind to me personally, which, I own, makes me wish to speak well of them.

But of some who are "left out" as the book has shaped itself, of whom I have only the most pleasant remembrance, I wish here at least to record the names. Rev. John Robinson, of Pine Ridge, Dakota, as much a soldier, in the best sense, as a missionary, one of the most practical and "level-headed" men whom I saw anywhere, not showy or self-regardful enough to be

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

fully appreciated by many people, but a man one would like to find at his side when storming a redoubt with a forlorn hope, or in a shipwreck, or wherever the primal qualities of manhood are needed. Rev. William J. Cleveland, Rev. Charles Smith Cook, Rev. Amos Ross, Rev. Joseph C. Taylor, Miss Mary S. Francis, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar M. Keith (and their lovely Indian baby, "the dainty Dakota darling," whom I wish as much to see again as any person in the Territory); the Jesuit brothers at the new boarding-school on the Rosebud reserve (I should like to meet them again); the brothers Milroy, at North Yakima, Harry H. Sharp, the young journalist at Tacoma, Washington Territory; Miss E. Des Newell, Territorial Librarian, Olympia, Washington Territory; Miss Carrie S. Woodruff, of Marshall, Michigan; Miss Egan and Miss O'Brien, of Bismarck; Miss Egan, of St. Paul; Mrs. L. K. Griffin, of Oakland, Cal.; Dr. Calvin K. Smith, physician at Klamath agency, Oregon, and Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Loosley of that place; Hiram Chase and his accomplished sister, educated and aspiring young people of the Omaha tribe; Miss Emma Fontenelle; Rev. N. M. Skipworth and family, of Shedd, Oregon, and Miss M. E. Meade;—to all these, and to many unnamed, greeting, with thanks and best wishes.

In turning from this retrospect of a long, interesting and arduous journey, I give my last word to Hope school at Springfield, Dakota, an institution of the highest character, for the education of Indians. Years after the death of Horace Mann, I could trace his influence and methods in the work and character of the teachers in Indiana and Ohio who had been pupils of young men and women whom he had taught at Antioch. So, I doubt not, these children will carry through life and impart to others those traits and qualities of high character which have been developed in them by their life with Miss Howes. So retiring and modest is the work and character of this school, so little ostentatious or conscious of an audience, that I found the endeavor to learn about it, even when on the ground, almost like looking for something in the dark. But the good work is there, and I bespeak for it the most generous support.





## THE GENERAL LAND IN SEVERALTY LAW.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

February 2, 1887.

*Ordered*, That 500 copies be printed for the use of the Senate.

[PUBLIC—No. 43.]

An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;

To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;

To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and

To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section: *Provided*, That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act; *And provided further*, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides for the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: *And provided further*, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

SEC. 2. That all allotments set apart under the



otherwise appropriated, upon a statement of an account in their behalf for such fees by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and a certification of such account to the Secretary of the Treasurer by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 5. That upon the approval of the allotments provided for in this act by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, which patents shall be of the legal effect, and declare that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted, for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made, or, in case of his decease, of his heirs according to the laws of the State or Territory where such land is located, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Indian, or his heirs as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrance whatsoever: *Provided*, That the President of the United States may in any case in his discretion extend the period. And if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same, before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void: *Provided*, That the law of descent and partition in

force in the State or Territory where such lands are situate shall apply thereto after patents therefor have been executed and delivered, except as herein otherwise provided; and the laws of the State of Kansas regulating the descent and partition of real estate shall, so far as practicable, apply to all lands in the Indian Territory which may be allotted in severalty under the provisions of this act: *And provided further*, That at any time after lands have been allotted to all the Indians of any tribe as herein provided, or sooner if in the opinion of the President it shall be for the best interests of said tribe, it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with such Indian tribe for the purchase and release by said tribe, in conformity with the treaty or statute under which such reservation is held, of such portions of its reservation not allotted as such tribe shall, from time to time, consent to sell, on such terms and conditions as shall be considered just and equitable between the United States and said tribe of Indians, which purchase shall not be complete until ratified by Congress, and the form and manner of executing such release shall also be prescribed by Congress: *Provided, however*, That all lands adapted to agriculture, with or without irrigation, so sold or released to the United States by any Indian tribe, shall be held by the United States for the sole purpose of securing



homes to actual settlers, and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and *bona fide* settlers only in tracts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to any one person, on such terms as Congress shall prescribe, subject to grants which Congress may make in aid of education: *And provided further*, That no patents shall issue therefor except to the person so taking the same as and for a homestead, or his heirs, and after the expiration of five years' occupancy thereof as such homestead; and any conveyance of said lands so taken as a homestead, or any contract touching the same, or lien thereon, created prior to the date of such patent, shall be null and void. And the sums agreed to be paid by the United States as purchase money for any portion of any such reservation shall be held in the Treasury of the United States for the sole use of the tribe or tribes of Indians to whom such reservations belonged; and the same, with interest thereon at three per cent. per annum, shall be at all times subject to appropriation by Congress for the education and civilization of such tribe or tribes of Indians, or the members thereof. The patents aforesaid shall be recorded in the General Land Office, and afterward delivered, free of charge, to the allottee entitled thereto. And if any religious society or other organization is now occupying any of the public lands to which this act is appli-

cable, for religious or educational work among the Indians, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to confirm such occupation to such society or organization, in quantity not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in any one tract, so long as the same shall be so occupied, on such terms as he shall deem just; but nothing herein contained shall change or alter any claim of such society for religious or educational purposes heretofore granted by law. And hereafter in the employment of Indian police, or any other employes in the public service among any of the Indian tribes or bands affected by this act, and where Indians can perform the duties required, those Indians who have availed themselves of the provisions of this act and become citizens of the United States shall be preferred.

SEC. 6. That upon the completion of said allotments, and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside; and no Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have



been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property.

SEC. 7. That in cases where the use of water for irrigation is necessary to render the lands within any Indian reservation available for agricultural purposes, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to secure a just and equal distribution thereof among the Indians residing upon any such reservations; and no other appropriation or grant of water by any riparian proprietor shall be authorized or permitted to the damage of any other riparian proprietor.

SEC. 8. That the provisions of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Chero-

kees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south added by executive order.

SEC. 9. That for the purpose of making the surveys and resurveys mentioned in section two of this act, there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be repaid proportionately out of the proceeds of the sales of such land as may be acquired from the Indians under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 10. That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to affect the right and power of Congress to grant the right of way through any lands granted to an Indian, or a tribe of Indians, for railroads or other highways, or telegraph lines, for the public use, or to condemn such lands to public uses, upon making just compensation.

SEC. 11. That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the removal of the Southern Ute Indians from their present reservation in Southwestern Colorado to a new reservation, by



[REDACTED]

and with the consent of a majority of the adult male members of said tribe.

Approved, February 8, 1887.

The names of Mr. and Mrs. Barstow and Mr. M. L. Blake, at Crow Agency, Montana, should appear in the list on page 202. I may remember others when it is too late to insert them.

Several requests for this Report have been received without name or address of the writers. It is sent to all others who have asked for it.

As personal relations are the most vital, I shall be glad if every person interested in this little book will send me his or her name and address. We may meet somewhere on the long journey, and be able to cooperate in this or some other good work.

March, 1887.

J. B. HARRISON,  
1316 Filbert street,  
Philadelphia.

# INDIAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES BY AGENCIES.

From the Report of the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1886.

## ARIZONA.

Colorado River Agency.....	2,527
Pima Agency.....	1,050
San Carlos Agency.....	4,977
Indians in Arizona, not under an agent.....	914

## CALIFORNIA.

Hoop Valley Agency .....	422
Mission Agency.....	3,096
Round Valley Agency.....	603
Tule River Agency.....	681
Indians in California not under an agent.....	6,456
Klamaths.....	213

## COLORADO.

Southern Ute Agency.....	978
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## DAKOTA.

Cheyenne River Agency.....	2,965
Crow Creek and Lower Brulé Agency.....	2,274
Devil's Lake Agency.....	2,182
Fort Berthold Agency.....	1,322
Fine Ridge Agency.....	4,873
Rosebud Agency.....	8,291
Sisseton Agency.....	1,496
Standing Rock Agency.....	4,690
Yankton Agency.....	1,776

## IDAHO.

Fort Hall Agency.....	1,444
Lemhi Agency.....	557
Nez Percé Agency.....	1,460
Indians in Idaho not under an agent.....	600

[REDACTED]

## INDIAN TERRITORY.

Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency.....	3,434
Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency.....	4,182
Osage Agency.....	1,905
Ponca, Pawnee and Otoe Agency.....	1,968
Quapaw Agency.....	1,049
Sac and Fox Agency.....	2,261
Union Agency.....	61,000

## IOWA.

Sac and Fox Agency.....	380
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## KANSAS.

Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha.....	1,007
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## MICHIGAN.

Mackinac Agency.....	7,313
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## MINNESOTA.

White Earth Agency.....	6,038
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## MONTANA.

Blackfeet Agency.....	2,026
Crow Agency.....	3,226
Flathead Agency.....	2,280
Fort Belknap Agency.....	1,650
Fort Peck Agency.....	2,917
Tongue River Agency.....	795

## NEBRASKA.

Santee and Flandreau Agency.....	1,312
Omaha and Winnebago Agency.....	2,382

## NEVADA.

Nevada Agency.....	4,558
Western Shoshone Agency.....	3,680

## NEW MEXICO.

Mescalero Agency.....	1,202
Navajo Agency.....	19,277
Pueblo Agency.....	7,762

## NEW YORK.

New York Agency.....	4,963
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## NORTH CAROLINA.

Eastern Cherokee, in North Carolina and Tennessee.....	3,000
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## OREGON.

Grande Ronde Agency.....	510
Klamath Agency.....	972
Siletz Agency.....	612
Umatilla Agency.....	894
Warm Springs Agency.....	859
Indians in Oregon not under an agent.....	800

## TEXAS.

Indians in Texas not under an agent.....	290
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## UTAH.

Ouray Agency.....	1,252
Uintah Agency.....	1,056
Indians in Utah not under an agent.....	390

## WASHINGTON.

Colville Agency.....	3,150
Neah Bay Agency.....	781
Quinalt Agency.....	423
Nisqually and S'Kokomiah Agency.....	1,712
Tulalip Agency.....	1,223
Yakima Agency.....	3,290

## WISCONSIN.

Green Bay Agency.....	3,000
LaPointe Agency.....	3,796
Indians in Wisconsin not under an agent.....	1,210

## WYOMING.

Shoshone Agency.....	1,800
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## MISCELLANEOUS.

Miami and Seminole in Indiana and Florida....	892
Oldtown Indians in Maine.....	410



## RECAPITULATION.

Total Indian population, exclusive of Indians in Alaska.....	247,761
Number of mixed bloods.....	20,567
Total Indian and mixed population, males..	120,527
Total Indian and mixed population, females.....	27,234
Number of children between six and sixteen years.....	46,877
Number of Indians who can read English only.....	23,495
Number of Indians who can read Indian only.....	10,027
Number of Indians who can read English and Indian.....	5,542
Total number of Indians who can read, over twenty.....	19,539
Total number of Indians who can read, under twenty.....	19,525
Number who have learned to read during the year.....	39,064
Number of Indians who can use English enough for ordinary intercourse.....	3,153
Number of Indian apprentices.....	38,801
Number of Indians who wear citizens' dress, wholly.....	514
Number of Indians who wear citizens' dress, in part.....	81,621
Number of allotments made to Indians, full blood.....	59,695
Number of allotments made to Indians, mixed blood.....	6,875
Number of Indians living upon and cultivating lands allotted.....	798
Number of male Indians who labor in civilized pursuits, full blood.....	9,612
Number of male Indians who labor in civilized pursuits, mixed blood.....	38,776
Number of dwelling-houses built by Indians during the year.....	4,647
	2,236

Cost of same to Government.....	\$19,359
Number of dwelling-houses built for Indians during the year.....	204
Cost of same to Government.....	\$14,425
Number of houses occupied by Indians.....	21,232
Number of Agency buildings erected during the year.....	42
Cost of same to Government.....	\$36,577

*[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. The text appears to be organized into columns or sections.]*

# **AREA OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, IN SQUARE MILES.**

From the Report of the Honorable Commissioner of Indian  
Affairs for 1886.

## **ARIZONA TERRITORY.**

Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
Colorado River.....	470
Gila Bend.....	35
Gila River.....	558
Hualpai.....	1,142
Moqui.....	3,920
Papago.....	109½
Salt River.....	73
Seppai.....	60
White Mountain.....	3,950
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>10,317½</b>

## **CALIFORNIA.**

Hoopa Valley.....	140
Klamath River.....	40
Mission (21 reserves).....	251
Round Valley.....	159½
Tule River.....	76
Yuma.....	72
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>738½</b>

## **COLORADO.**

Ute.....	1,710
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,710</b>

## **DAKOTA TERRITORY.**

Crow Creek.....	318
Devil's Lake.....	360
Fort Berthold.....	4,550
Lake Traverse.....	1,435

220

## **INDIAN RESERVATIONS.**

221

Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
Old Winnebago.....	652
Ponca.....	150
Great Sioux Reservation	
Cheyenne River.....	.....
Crow Creek and Lower Brulé.....	.....
Pine Ridge.....	.....
Rosebud.....	.....
Standing Rock.....	.....
Turtle Mountain.....	72
Yankton.....	672½
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>41,948½</b>

## **IDAHO TERRITORY.**

Coeur d'Alène.....	935
Fort Hall.....	1,878
Lapwai.....	1,167
Lemhi.....	100
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>4,080</b>

## **INDIAN TERRITORY.**

Cheyenne and Arapahoe.....	6,715
Cherokee.....	7,861
Chickasaw.....	7,267
Choctaw.....	10,450
Creek.....	4,751
Iowa.....	357
Kansas.....	156½
Kickapoo.....	322½
Kiowa and Comanche.....	4,639
Modoc.....	6
Oakland.....	142
Osage.....	2,297
Otoe.....	202
Ottawa.....	23
Pawnee.....	442
Peoria.....	78½
Ponca.....	159



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Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
Pottawatomic.....	900
Quapaw.....	88½
Sac and Fox.....	750
Seminole.....	586
Seneca.....	81
Shawnee.....	21
Wichita.....	1,162
Wyandotte.....	33½
.....	3,565½
.....	165
.....	5,682½
.....	1,058
.....	1,116
.....	773½
.....	2,362
Total.....	64,215
IOWA.	
Sac and Fox.....	2
Total.....	2
KANSAS.	
Chippewa and Munsee.....	6½
Kickapoo.....	32
Pottawatomic.....	121
Total.....	159½
MICHIGAN.	
Isabella.....	17½
L'Anse.....	82½
Ontonagon.....	4
Total.....	103½
MINNESOTA.	
Boise Fort.....	168
Deer Creek.....	36
Fond du Lac.....	156

Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
Grand Portage (Pigeon River).....	81
Leech Lake.....	148
Mille Lac.....	95
Red Lake.....	5,000
Vermilion Lake.....	2
White Earth.....	1,245
Winnebagoishish (White Oak Point).....	500
Total.....	7,431
MONTANA TERRITORY.	
Blackfeet	
Fort Peck } .....	33,830
Fort Belknap } .....	
Crow.....	7,364
Jocko.....	2,240
Northern Cheyenne.....	580
Total.....	44,014
NEBRASKA.	
Iowa.....	25
Niobrara.....	114
Omaha.....	222½
Sac and Fox.....	12½
Sioux (addition).....	50
Winnebago.....	170
Total.....	594
NEVADA.	
Duck Valley.....	488
Moapa River.....	2
Pyramid Lake.....	503
Walker River.....	498
Total.....	1,491
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY.	
Mescalero Apache (Fort Stanton).....	741
Navajo.....	12,821
Pueblo.....	1,081
Zuni.....	336
Total.....	14,979



Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
<b>NEW YORK.</b>	
Alleghany.....	47½
Cattaraugus.....	34
Oil Spring.....	1
Oneida.....	½
Onondaga.....	9½
Saint Regis.....	23
Tonawanda.....	11½
Tuscarora.....	9½
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>NORTH CAROLINA.</b>	
Qualla boundary and } .....	78
other lands } .....	24
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>OREGON.</b>	
Grand Ronde.....	96
Klamath.....	1,650
Malheur.....	½
Siletz.....	351½
Umatilla.....	420
Warm Springs.....	725
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>3,243</b>
<b>UTAH TERRITORY.</b>	
Uintah Valley.....	3,186
Uncompahgre.....	3,021
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>6,207</b>
<b>WASHINGTON TERRITORY.</b>	
Chehalis.....	38½
Columbia.....	4,375
Colville.....	19½
Lammi (Chah-choo-sen).....	36
Makah.....	5½
Muckleshoot.....	5½

Name of Reservation.	Square Miles.
Nisqually.....	7½
Port Madison.....	11½
Puyallup.....	28
Quinalt.....	350
Shoalwater.....	½
S'Kokomish.....	8
Snohomish or Tulalip.....	35
Spokane.....	240
Squaxin Island (Klahchemin).....	2½
Swinomish (Perry's Island).....	11½
Yakima.....	1,250
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>6,418½</b>
<b>WISCONSIN.</b>	
Lac Court Oreilles.....	108
Lac du Flambeau.....	109
La Pointe (Bad River).....	194½
Red Cliff.....	22
Menomonee.....	362
Oneida.....	102½
Stockbridge.....	18
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>916</b>
<b>WYOMING TERRITORY.</b>	
Wind River.....	3,660
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>3,660</b>
<b>Grand total.....</b>	<b>212,466</b>

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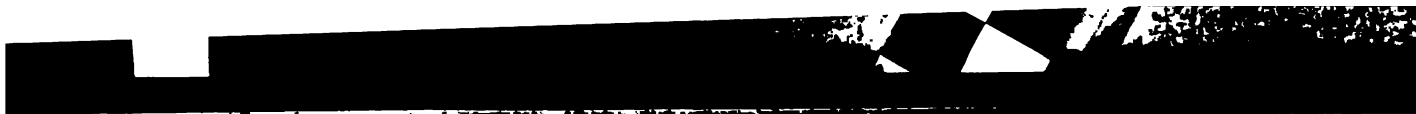
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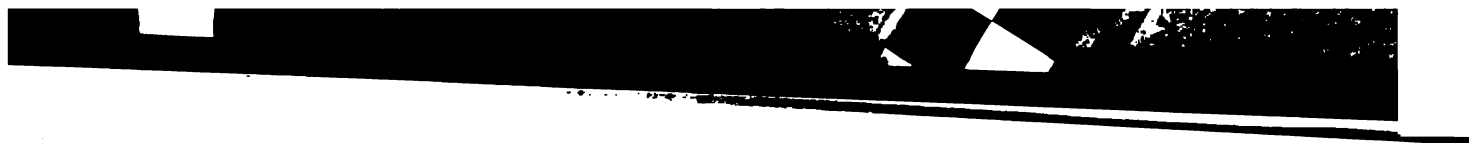
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